

In this Issue -- Four-Page Textile Strike Section

NEW LEADER

With Which
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by
Eugene V. Debs

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Graft, Corruption and "Patriotism" To Coin Vast Armaments Profits

Arms Business Revealed as Dirtiest Racket of Them All.

THE capitalist world is sick unto death, its industries are idle and tens of millions of workers are outcasts in the world they have built. Heaped upon this hideous tragedy appears the munitions gang working behind the scenes. The Senate investigation of the munitions crowd has revealed a situation so disgusting, so inhuman, so foul in motive that the Dillingers appear to be model persons in comparison with the wealthy vermin disclosed by this investigation.

A DANCE OF DEATH



Women of questionable character employed by munitions salesmen to "entertain" public officials to get them in a proper frame of mind to place big orders.—News Item.

Here are two submarine companies, one American and the other British, dividing the markets between them and resorting to bribery in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru to obtain contracts. "Something extra is always needed to grease the ways," one official wrote another. Working like footpads in the dark, these high hat criminals engaged in intrigue. Public officials in some countries were among those "greased" to foster the trade. A former American Ambassador to Brazil is named as a go-between in dealing with a South American submarine agent and shady women appear in the dance of death.

And all for the dirty dollars these capitalist war-mongers may reap from wars between nations, the destruction of human lives and billions of wealth the workers produce. They help to sow dragons' teeth of hate between peoples, induce nations to buy their armaments, foster war suspicions, and when war comes the bleeding human pulp on smoking battlefields is translated into more dollars for their class.

These revelations come at a time when Dr. Frank C. Dickenson of the University of Illinois, in a study of the last world butchery, estimates that it cost 200 billion dollars in terms of the 1913 dollar level. These revelations are made at a time when a chemist at a meeting of the American Chemical Society in Cleveland announces the discovery of a new deadly gas for the wholesale destruction of armies and of the population behind the lines.

The new "wind of death" it is called. Added to

The Morro Castle Disaster; Were Lives Traded for Dollars?

By Able Seaman

THE law of the sea prescribes certain codes of bravery and selfless courage. The law of the sea requires a captain to stay with his ship until the last person is taken off. The law of the sea requires seamen willingly to give up their lives to save the lives of passengers entrusted to their care.

But the law of the sea apparently does not require the sounding of an alarm the moment there is danger.

And the law of the sea apparently leaves it to the judgment of a commanding officer to decide when he should send out an S.O.S. in case of disaster—such as that which overtook the Morro Castle. But the law of the sea apparently does not inquire whether or not that commander is a free agent.

It is pretty generally realized by now that there was something fundamentally rotten in the handling of the Morro Castle after the fire was discovered. What was it? And are there any lessons in it for us?

It is definitely known in the case of the Vestris disaster of 1928 the Lamport and Holt offices knew of the ship's distress long before the S.O.S. was sent out. It is known that the home offices were in constant wireless contact with the ship while she was listing dangerously and shipping great quantities of water, and that when the S.O.S.

finally was sent out it was too late to avert that criminal disaster.

In the case of the Morro Castle there is the serious question of whether the S.O.S. call was deliberately held back until it was too late to save the ship, or at least all the passengers and crew. If that is true, WHY?

In the case of the Vestris it is known that the ship sailed with a decided list to port, and that the company deliberately took a chance with their own property, and with the lives of hundreds of people, in a gamble for big profits.

In the case of the Morro Castle it is pretty well established that the fire was well under way when the alarm was given. Were the officers under some obligation not to alarm the passengers? Was it the idea that if the passengers were awakened and routed out, and then the fire put out, they would grumble and this give the ship a bad name? Did the officers deliberately gamble on their ability to put out the fire without letting the passengers know about it?

Certain things can definitely be stated:

First: the captain of a ship—no matter how fine it is and how much gold braid he wears—is merely an employee of the owning company.

Second: that when an S.O.S. signal goes out the ships that rush to the rescue are entitled to a considerable slice of the value of the rescued ship as salvage.

Formerly, the captain was the monarch of all he surveyed. Once on the ship no one could override what he said. Today, in port, he must do what his office tells him to; in the harbor he is supplanted by the pilot, and on the high seas he is never out of wireless communication with the home office. In the Vestris case it is known that the Lamport and Holt offices knew of the condition of the ship as it floundered in the heavy seas off Hatteras long before the S.O.S. was sent. Lamport and Holt never satisfactorily answered the question whether or not that delay was the result of orders from New York. But it was never denied.

Just what happened Saturday morning off Asbury Park is not yet known, but it would be inconceivable for the home offices of the A.G.W.I. (Atlantic, Gulf and West Indies), owners of the Ward Line, not to have known the plight of the ship. Was the delay in sending the S.O.S. under orders, in order not to be under obligations to Furness Line ships and Luckenbach ships in the matter of large sums for salvage?

The testimony of Radio Operator Rogers, quoting Captain Warne in the matter of salvage charges, is more sensational than anything else so far brought out.

Was there a deliberate—and losing—gamble with the lives of hundreds to save the company millions of dollars?

Whatever the facts that will be brought out by the various investigations, it appears that the profit motive exists everywhere, and it appears that human beings lost their lives because dollars were the first consideration.

Everywhere you find the profit motive. Everywhere you find human beings endangered because profits come first. Everywhere the villainess of capitalism soils human relations.

Capitalism must go before human beings can begin really to live!

Socialist Girl Is Lost On the Morro Castle

Old-time Brownsville Socialists were grieved to learn that among the dead in the Morro Castle disaster was Miss Fannie Spector, an active party worker several years ago.

Fannie Spector was one of the most active of the younger Socialists in Brownsville in the days that the movement in that section was being built up by the late A. J. Shiplacoff, and for a time was a branch secretary.

the other deadly gases invented and brewing in the laboratories financed by the capitalist governments, the next war on a large scale will reap a toll of death that will be staggering. Old men and women, the crippled and the sick, the blind and infants, fathers and mothers—everybody—will choke and burn and die. Human tissues will dissolve when deadly gases drive human beings into cellars and garrets, and pestilence will follow this horror.

The real prospect is more ghastly than anything ever imagined by some morbid drug addict suffering torments from the use of a narcotic. What remains of civilization might well disappear and the few survivors turn to a grim bat-agent in making that decision.

Armament rings, behind-the-scenes diplomacy, imperialist itch for overseas power and plunder, the traffic in arms, the gestation of deadly poisons and gases, big and bigger navies, big and bigger wars, the export of capital to ex-

ploit the masses in other countries—all this is a part of the capitalist world in which we live.

Above are the capitalists, bankers, generals, admirals, politicians, statesmen, grafters, armament profiteers, diplomats and others of the ruling classes. Below are the working masses, the vast majority, whose labor sustains this upper crust of idlers, plotters, profiteers, war-makers and exploiters. The main burden of the terrible depression is borne by these laboring millions and their bones will fertilize the fortunes and fame of those who rule them in another war.

We urge our readers to make the most of the Socialist campaign which ends in November. A thousand arguments are yours in the fight for a big Socialist vote as an answer to what is mentioned above. The working class can rule the world when it wills to do so. It can end this hideous thing of war and armaments and the filthy practices that go with it. Help to end it with your votes!

Capitalism Shaken With Deadly Ills, As Textile Workers Wage Big Strike

THE textile industry received Code Number 1 and it came into the world with the blare of trumpets a little over a year ago. Today the industry is in upheaval with 500,000 workers more or less involved in a strike. When he signed the code, President Roosevelt declared that the problem of wages and hours had been brought to "a definite conclusion."

However, grievances have been accumulating since last March. The signing of the code was followed by more intense exploitation of the workers through the "stretch-out" system and textile workers were being resisted in organizing into unions. By June the industry was facing a strike, but this was averted by promise of a government investigation of wages and hours. When the report was made it denied the demand for a wage increase, although in some sections wages were cut under the minimum, being as low as \$7.50 per week.

In the meantime the union had submitted hundreds of complaints to the Cotton Textile Industrial Relations Board regarding the administration of the code, especially relating to the inhuman "stretch-out" system. The complaints were ignored and the workers concluded that the capitalist-dominated board was a case of dice loaded against them. The theory of identical interests of capitalist and laborer, that strikes

could not occur under the NRA, then blew up in the strike that is now general in the industry.

This is the biggest labor upheaval that the industry has ever experienced and it comes at a time when the whole industrial system is again shaky with the disease that has been eating out its vitality. The NRA is being reorganized in a frantic effort to get the wheezy old system into working order, but the economic laws of capitalist production remain a puzzle to its managers. This summary of conditions that face the rulers of industry and the NRA which we take from the United States News tells the story:

"The fiscal perplexities are nerve-wracking.

"The monetary problems are multiplying.

"The industrial warfare is tragic.

"The security which those employed should feel is singularly lacking.

"The cost of living is rising.

"The farmer is paying more for the things he is buying than he is getting for the products of the soil.

"Parity—that much abused word of agricultural debate—is farther and farther off, due to industrial chaos.

"Labor cries out for more purchasing power. And the farmer resents the rising cost of fabricated articles.

"And so the vicious circle grows and grows."

Not since the banking system slid into the ditch a year ago last March has capitalism been so sick as it is now, and the NRA doctors know this too well. They cannot see beyond production for the profitable gains of the capitalist class and too many workers and farmers can, as yet, see no farther.

A tremendous Socialist vote in November would be a clarion call inspiring hope and confidence in the tortured masses. While we fight side by side with the striking masses in their struggles, this Socialist hope should also be encouraged as a beacon light showing the way out of this terrible depression hell that has swallowed up millions of toilers. Capitalism is the most miserable failure in all history. The working class has nothing to lose and everything to gain by yeoman work to abolish it.

RAND SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

THE Rand School of Social Science announces a rich and varied program of educational activity for its twenty-ninth season, which begins on Monday, September 23. If our party members, Yipsels and progressive trade unionists in the metropolitan area are wise, they will themselves take full advantage of the opportunities which this unique institution offers them and will tell their friends about the school's work and urge them to attend its classes and lectures. Its services, however, are not confined to this city. Through extension classes and correspondence courses the Rand School is helping to strengthen the Socialist Party all over the land and to bring it into closer touch with the movement of organized labor. Its hundreds of students ought to enlist thousands more.

This is followed by a peppy letter to local secretaries and members at large, urging them to build New Leader circulation. "If you really wish to build a strong movement in this state, you must first build up a big circulation for this paper," Comrade Higgins advises the comrades in his state.

The letter does not exhaust the action taken. Leaders to put over a sub drive have been selected, the first appointments including the following twelve comrades in various sections of the state: J. R.

THE NEW LEADER, a Socialist publication, supports the Socialist Party and the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

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She Likes Women

By Gertrude Weil Klein

DON'T get me wrong, I like women; and all things considered, I believe they like me. When I complained in these columns a few weeks ago that I was being pushed into the woman's corner my peeve was not caused by its being the women's corner especially—although that isn't the place where I feel most at home—but principally because I already am in a couple of other corners and there seems to be a law of physics or something about such things.



G. W. Klein

There was a time I confess when this question of special activities for women couldn't give me a flutter. But I've been converted, and like all recent converts I'm more zealous than the people who have been working steadily along these lines. So, will everybody please stop shoving me around about this women's department business, because I don't think it's funny any more.

And so to business—Socialist Party Women's Committee business this time, because the Women's Committee has started the season with a bang. Everybody is back in town from her big or little vacation or her summer job and the sum total of feminine energy available should go a long way. The program mapped out for the women's section at this afternoon's meeting will more than absorb the available energy.

The way plans shape up for the next few months, classes and study groups will take second place. The study courses, which will be given in conjunction with the Rand School, do not start until November 19th, which in a way is just as well as this leaves the decks clear for the campaign. And the women's committee has lofty ambitions for this campaign.

For one thing they're going to elect two women, one to Congress and one to the Assembly: Rachel Panken in the 14th Congressional District, Manhattan, and Julia Primoff in the 16th Assembly District, Brooklyn, have excellent chances of election. In the 14th Congressional, Jacob Panken when he ran for Congress two years ago, carried the 6th Assembly District,

a large part of the 8th, and a good part of the 10th. This year it appears there will be a four-cornered fight—something which this district has never seen before. Comrade Rachel Panken, is, of course, an excellent candidate and an excellent campaigner. She has always played an active part in her husband's campaign and the women are especially anxious to see her make it on her own.

In Brooklyn, Comrade Primoff is running in the district where B. C. Vladeck made such a marvelous showing. This is swell Socialist territory. It takes in Bensonhurst, Brighton Beach and Coney Island, and Comrade Primoff is ready to start her campaign today. I'll give you the lowdown on Julia some other time. But she's got everything it takes.

The first meeting scheduled will be a six-sided symposium called, "A New Deal for Women." The committee is trying to arrange for an all women's symposium, but if this proves impossible we may have to dig up some one like Louis Cuvillier or A. B. See. Then there will be a luncheon some time during the middle of October. You can't have a campaign without a luncheon. Mrs. Panken is giving a tea next Thursday afternoon for the campaign committee and the executive committee, at which detailed plans will be discussed. Both candidates are active in various women's groups and efforts will be made to enlist them in the campaign.

We'd like to give the names of the committee elected, but there just isn't room. It looks like busy days ahead.

The Women's Trade Union League will hold its annual conference all day Saturday, September 22, at the League House, 247 Lexington Ave. The subject for this year's conference is, "The Woman Worker in the Present Industrial Scheme" and the sessions will include discussions on "A General Survey of Labor Under the New Deal," "Changing Conditions for Women Workers," "Achievements and Problems of Labor Unions with Large Women Membership" and "Minimum Wage Laws for Women." Among the speakers will be Theresa Wolfson, Freda Miller and Julius Hochman. Dr. Elsie Gluck is Educational Director for the Women's Trade Union League. The Women's Committee of the Socialist Party is sending two members to the conference.

Special Issues

In the issue of September 29 we expect to run a symposium on the need and possibilities of political action independent of the capitalist parties, to which active union men will contribute. Sentiment for this action is growing in the trade unions. Watch for this issue!

The issue of October 7 will contain a splendid supplement dedicated to our late Comrade Morris Hillquit. Many leading Socialists of Europe and this country will contribute to this notable number, which will be educational as well as historical. Call the attention of the members of your local organization to these special issues and let us hear from you.

Sweet Charity!

"Unemployment, paradoxical as it may seem, benefits mankind and helps toward social progress by the very efforts of industry to absorb those who are willing to work," Walter I. Willis, president of the Associated Charities of Flushing, declared at a meeting of the board of directors of that association in St. George's Parish House in Flushing.

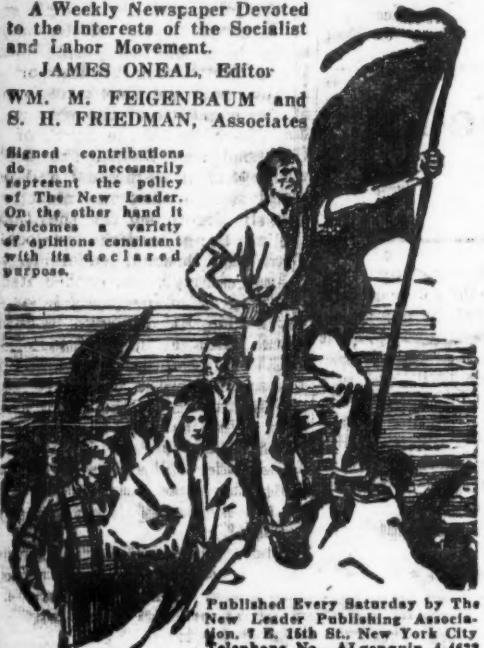
NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

WM. M. FEIGENBAUM and S. H. FRIEDMAN, Associates

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th, 1934

West Virginia Sixth State to Make The New Leader Its Official Organ

WEST VIRGINIA has joined the roll of the states that have chosen The New Leader as an official Socialist Party paper! While the business office was pursuing the usual grind, a letter arrived from J. F. Higgins, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, which carried the following notice:

"The State Executive Committee has approved The New Leader as the official organ of the Socialist Party of West Virginia."

This makes the sixth state to join the New Leader roll. The others are New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, California and Indiana.

The action of the West Virginia organization was taken upon the initiative of Comrade Higgins, who sent the following letter to the members of the State Committee: "The scant subscriptions to the

party press by the membership in this state is, no doubt, the cause of our lack of cooperation and coordination in West Virginia activities. AS THE NEW LEADER IS THE ONLY SOCIALIST JOURNAL PRINTING PARTY NOTES AND OTHER USEFUL INFORMATION ABOUT PARTY WORK IN THE UNITED STATES, I AM ASKING THE STATE COMMITTEE TO VOTE ON THE FOLLOWING MOTION:

"RESOLVED, That we make THE NEW LEADER the approved organ of the Socialist Party of West Virginia, and that each member of the State Committee do his or her best to build up its circulation in their respective Congressional districts to the end that all organizations of the Socialist Party in this state be made aware of what its kindred locals are doing in party work."

Documents on Sincerity And the United Front

CHICAGO—Definite documentary proof that the official Communist Party and its press still considers that its first duty is to make war upon the Socialist Party, despite its demand for a united front, is contained in the reply of the Socialist Party to the Communist central executive committee.

The only explanation of these quotations is the Communist charge of "social fascism" hurled at Socialists everywhere by Communists, a charge that makes the request for a united front somewhat absurd unless that united front is to be merely a Communist "maneuver" to give the Communists an opportunity to carry on disruptive work more effectively from within a fraternal embrace.

Herewith are printed several paragraphs from the letter sent by the Socialist Party's National Executive Committee to the official request of the Communist Party for a united front, which were not received in time for inclusion in the story in last week's issue of this paper:

Numerous quotations could be found to prove this point. For instance: Stalin—"Social Democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism"; the 13th Plenum's declaration that "Social Democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open fascist dictatorship"; the editorial in the *Rote Fahne* (July 5, 1932)—"Our struggle for a red united front is a struggle against Social Democratic politics, against the Social Democratic party, and against its representatives"; the article by Earl Browder in "The Communist" of August, 1933—"The united front is a method of struggle against the Social-Fascists for the possession of the masses"; and the article by C. A. Hathaway in "The Communist" for October, 1932—"We have to get down to bed rock in our fight against the Socialists."

Although Robert Minor said that only "irresponsible individuals" had tried to use the united front as a maneuver, we find in the official history of the first ten years of the

SOCIALIST HEADS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

As the way is being made clear for the entry of Soviet Russia into the League of Nations, the presidency of that organization is taken over by a Socialist.

Richard J. Sandler, Social Democratic Foreign Minister of Sweden, former Socialist premier of that country, has been elected to preside over the League of Nations, and he will in all probability welcome the Russian delegates when the time comes for them to take their seats.

The election of Sandler is significant in that it makes clear that the League is neither a good nor a bad organization, but that it will be as good as its members make it. With men like Simon and Barthou at the helm it will be a reactionary body. When nations select Socialist premiers it will be an agency for enormous good.

Sandler is 50 years old, and before becoming a Socialist official was a teacher. As long ago as 1918 he was editor of a party paper. He was in the Hjalmar Branting cabinet in 1920, and when ill health forced Branting to resign he succeeded him as premier. He has been foreign minister since Comrade Per Albin Hansson has been premier.

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Third International (I. Comor, "Ten Years of the Comintern")—"The main object of this tactic (the united front) is the exposure of the treacherous leaders and the liberation of the toiling masses from their influence." Zinoviev at the Fifth Congress said: "We perceive these tactics as strategic maneuvers." Your official organ, "The Communist," for April, 1933, says: "Does the Communist International manifesto mean a change in the basic line of the Comintern in regard to the united front? Of course not. . . . These tactics, while changing in form, do not in any way change the principal content of the tactics of the united front."

The official bulletin of the Young Communist League for March-April, 1933, speaks of the Young People's Socialist League as "the most dangerous enemy in the ranks of the working youth."

In its editorial of August 1, 1933, your official organ, "The Daily Worker," said: "On the eve of a new imperialist war, the Socialist Party is doing all it can to help the bosses by drumming up a chauvinistic spirit behind the Roosevelt slave and war program." And on March 30, 1932: "The role of the Socialist Party is to assist fascism in placing its iron ring around the necks of the workers."

All of these quotations are based upon the theory of "social fascism" which, as any reader of your newspapers can understand, is still accepted by the Communist Party of the United States.

JULIUS DEUTSCH TO TOUR AMERICA

Arrangements for the American tour of Julius Deutsch, former Socialist member of the Austrian Parliament and head of the Socialist Schutzbund, are progressing rapidly. Deutsch is scheduled to arrive in this country the end of October and will leave New York almost immediately for an extensive speaking tour which will take him through all of the eastern and middle western states.

His first major appearance in this country will be before the Ford Hall Forum in Boston, Nov. 4. On the evening of Armistice Day he will speak under the auspices of the Socialist Party at Mecca Temple in New York City. On the following Sunday he will speak in Baltimore, Md.

In connection with Deutsch's tour, an English edition of his excellent first-hand account of the civil war in Austria last February will be published. A splendid translation of this pamphlet has been made by David P. Berenberg.

THE COST OF WAR

When he isn't functioning as a Tory Elder Statesman Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, says some pretty cogent things about war and its cost to civilization. So let us tactfully forget his reactionary Hooverian speech of the other day and read:

"The World War, all told, cost—apart from thirty million lives—four hundred billion dollars. With that money we could have built a

Labor Official Calls for Labor Party Policy

By George Q. Lynch
General President, Pattern Makers'
League of North America

(This is the first of a number of articles we hope to run on problems facing the A. F. of L. and written by responsible men in the trade unions.)

THE convention of the A. F. of L. this year will be the most important since the early nineteen hundreds. Upon its deliberations and decisions may rest the future of the organization.

As I view it, the Federation, in order to continue, must win public approbation upon two important points. It must unmistakably demonstrate its desire to be clean, and it must readjust its

\$2500 house, furnished it with \$1000 worth of furniture, placed it on five acres of land, worth \$100 an acre, and given this home to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia.

"We could have given to each city of 20,000 inhabitants or over, in each country named, a five million dollar library, and a ten million dollar university.

"Out of what was left we could have set aside a sum of five percent that would provide a \$1,000 yearly salary for an army of 125,000 teachers and a like salary for another army of 125,000 nurses."

policies to conform with modern methods of production and distribution.

Believing in the policy of doing first things first, I would advocate a general house-cleaning as imperative to the future safety of our movement. With full consciousness of the limited power and authority delegated to the Federation, I am firmly convinced that it has done far less than possible to rid our movement of the racketeering influence which has brought the name "labor union" into disrepute. When criminal courts are called upon to do the things left undone by the directing heads of any movement, the public has a right to suspect connivance.

The presence of this sinister influence in the labor movement is particularly an American problem. And it is significant that a movement which prides itself upon its practical-mindedness, as compared with other labor movements, should be so impractical as to allow this lawless element to destroy its standing in the court of public opinion.

The matter of clean unionism must come first, for the reason that without clean leadership there can be no constructive though in dealing with modern labor problems. One cannot conceive of leaders with such opprobrious titles as "Jake the Bum" and "Knockout Kelly" evaluating the merits of the New Deal or analyzing the effects of modern capitalism upon the lives of the people, to say nothing of formulating or even understanding a program for labor advancement.

Therefore, if the A. F. of L. is to readjust its policies to meet the approval of its present and potential membership it must apply itself vigorously to the task of eliminating the dishonest local and international leadership which has seemingly entrenched itself in the ranks of organized labor.

With this difficulty overcome, the Federation can apply itself to the solution of its legitimate, political, and economic problems. Foremost among these are the questions of industrial unionism and independent political action. On both matters there is a serious and sincere difference of opinion. Recent developments, however, have unmistakably established the fact that both are growing in favor among the rank and file of labor.

Of equal importance is the fact that the Executive Council cannot afford to be wrong in its conclusions regarding these important matters. The Council has already exhausted its quota of forgivable mistakes. Rank and file pressure, together with liberal political policy, has reversed their position on such important matters as unemployment insurance, old age pensions, retirement benefits, regulation of hours by legislation, and many other matters of equal or lesser importance.

The coming convention may place the Council in the position of the general who was equally wrong on matters of strategy. After a long series of mistakes, his army decided to go its own way and win some battles. The general, on observing the disaffection, remarked: "There goes my army! I must go with them because I am their leader!"

At the moment it would appear that the Council is feeling its way to determine trends in order to be guided accordingly.

The week of October 1st will open the convention that will shed much light upon the question: "Has the labor movement again reached the point for complete reorganization, as in 1881; or can the existing Federation adjust itself to meet the changed social outlook?"

The Basic Principles of the Modern Socialist Movement

By August Tyler

Socialist Economics

III

The Labor Theory of Value

IN order to equate various objects it is necessary to find some common unit of measure. In determining distance we use feet; for weights we can use pounds; for liquid quantities, gallons. These are all units of measure, things of a definite nature contained in all objects of a certain character in a greater or lesser quantity.

Now what is present in all commodities that can be used as a unit of measure in determining their values?

All commodities have two characteristics in common:

First, they all satisfy certain human wants. Secondly, they are all products of human labor.

Now, can the ability of a commodity to satisfy certain human wants be used as the unit of measure? As we have already seen, various human wants which are satisfied by various commodities are in no way comparable. Likewise the use values of the commodity which go toward the satisfaction of these wants are in no way comparable. In order to equate quantities they must be of like quality; and this the various commodities that pass in exchange are not. In fact, if they were, i.e., if a hat could be eaten as well as a loaf of bread, exchange and commodity production would never exist.

It must be understood that what has just been said does not imply that commodities have no use value. They do and they must. The point that is made, however, is that use value is not the unit of measure.

Let us take an example from physics. An object that has weight must also occupy space. But the amount of space it occupies really has nothing whatsoever to do with its weight. A pound of feathers will occupy much more space than a pound of gold. Yet both weigh a pound.

The same is true of utility and value. All commodities that have exchange value have use value. But the latter has nothing to do with the determination of the proportion in which commodities exchange.

Once we have deprived the commodity of its various utilities, however, there remains but one thing common to all:—COMMODITIES ARE PRODUCTS OF HUMAN LABOR. They are comparable, moreover, only as products of GENERAL undifferentiated Human Labor; i.e., not as the special product of the carpenter's or shoemaker's skill, but as the general product of undifferentiated labor.

In this respect, as a product of general human labor, all commodities are of one parentage. In the

veins of all commodities flows this common blood.

Some commodities may be of nobler lineage (may contain 400 hours of this general human labor); some may be of more ignoble lineage (may contain 2 hours of the same). But it IS the same; and varying as the quantities may be, the quality is common to all.

It is the number of hours of general human labor embodied in a commodity that determine its value.

The term "general" means many things here. It means undifferentiated as opposed to specific. But it means more.

It means average (in skill) hours of labor. Some work is more skilled and other less skilled. But there is some point of average skill. And the number of hours of general human labor which determines the value of a commodity is of an average skill.

The term "general" also means average technique. Techniques of production differ; some producers are better equipped than others. The average technique is the measure.

All these qualities of undifferentiated labor with average skill and equipment are embodied in the phrase of Marx, "socially necessary." "What determines the magnitude of value . . . is therefore the amount of socially necessary labor it contains, or the social labor time requisite for its production."

Why, some may ask, such a strange term as "socially necessary"? Because value is determined by the labor time necessary for the production of a commodity under existing social conditions. It is the socially necessary labor time!

The only difficulty in understanding the labor theory of value—the theory just explained—is its simplicity. Imagine the entire stock of commodity wealth—shoes, stockings, food, machinery, hats, coats, pins, pencils, and pianos, etc.—as one great mass of "frozen" hours of labor. Each hour is the same. These units—equal hours—are contained in various commodities. The more units of these uniform hours a commodity contains the greater is its value. In fact, the value is determined directly by the number of hours of this socially necessary labor.

(Please note that we talk of COMMODITY wealth. Not all the wealth in the world comes in the form of a commodity. There is a great deal of wealth which is produced entirely without human effort. But such wealth as can be obtained without the aid of human labor, i.e., gratis or free goods, has no exchange value. Only after human labor is added to the exertions of nature does goods begin to take on value; and it takes on more and more value in direct ratio with the amount of socially necessary labor embodied in it.)

(Continued next week)

The Workers Abroad

An International Review of the Socialist and Labor Movement of the World

By William M. Feigenbaum
(Batting for Mark Khinoy)

The United Front in the Saar

DRIVEN by a logic of events that overcame all the Communist "theses" that "proved" the Socialists to be "social fascists" to be destroyed before the "final conflict" with fascism, the Communists of the Saar basin have entered into a real united front with the Socialists and a large section of the Catholic workers to defeat the Hitlerization of that territory in the plebiscite next January.

Under the inspiring leadership of Max Braun, Social Democrat, this real united front is energetically arousing public opinion to withstand the propaganda to stampede the Saar into the Nazi Reich, and to vote for a continuance of the present status—that is, to remain under the aegis of the League of Nations as the one piece of German territory where democratic freedom still prevails until Germany is again a free country.

This anti-Nazi propaganda is making amazing progress, although there is no way of telling at this time whether or not it will be able to withstand the terrific Nazi propaganda and the natural desire of the German population to be reincorporated in their own country. The propaganda is the more amazing when it is considered what a fate is in store for its leaders if the plebiscite goes the wrong way and Hitler and Göring get control of that territory.

Up to a few months ago the Communists in the Saar continued their usual tactics of slander and vilification, while Max Braun energetically strove to awaken the masses to the danger of Nazification. Indeed, the impudent Communist hoax reporting that Carl Severing had gone over to Hitler originated in the Saar, where it could do the most harm. But the working masses were not interested in polemics and Communist slanders; they wanted to unite to keep Hitler out of the Saar. And so the united front was formed, joined by many Catholic organizations whose members do not relish enduring what Hitler has done to their fellow-religionists in Germany.

There is a picture in the European Socialist press of the vast mass meeting in Sulzbach, near Saarbrücken, held on the same day that Hitler staged his circus in Ehrenbreitstein. Despite Hitler's direct appeal to the Saarlanders over the radio, and the free railroad trips they were offered to hear his speech, over 70,000 working people attended the great working class rally. In the foreground of the picture is the Communist leader Pfordt next to Max Braun, their arms raised in the Socialist *Freiheit* salute, together with Pastor Dorr, representing the anti-Nazi Catholics.

For Democracy in Holland

IN connection with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the organization of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland, J. W. Albarda, parliamentary chairman of the party, wrote an interesting history of the party.

One paragraph, dealing with difficulties with anti-democratic tendencies, is worth reprinting. It reads:

"Recently the party has had once more to take a resolute stand and purge its ranks of another group. The so-called International League against war has a section in Holland as in other countries, and a considerable number of Social Democrats belonged to it. The party executive and many members of the party had been observing the activities of the League for some time with growing anxiety, and finally the party executive came into possession of palpable proof that this organization was making preparations for a disavowal of democracy. As these ideas and intentions were in contradiction to the unequivocal decisions of the party, which has taken its stand on the democratic platform as a matter of principles and practice, members of the S.D.L.P. were forbidden to be members of the League. A certain number of members quitted the party. The strength of the party was not lessened as a result: its growth continued uninterrupted and unity was reinforced. It remains more firmly than ever the one loyal and unswerving defender of democracy in the political life of Holland."

The Socialist Youth International

THE International Socialist Youth, consisting of young Socialist organizations of nineteen countries, held a great meeting at Liège, August 4th and 5th. More than 30,000 young Socialists demonstrated against war and fascism in a magnificent procession almost 20 years to a day from the time Liège was occupied by the German armies at the outbreak of the World War.

Five years previously there had been a demonstration of over 50,000 young Socialists in Vienna upon the occasion of the last meeting of the International Socialist youth, but since then the movement has been outlawed by fascist barbarism in Austria, Germany, Latvia and Bulgaria and the magnificent movements of those coun-

MUSSOLINI'S LONG A

By Larry S. Davidow

DICTATORSHIP has become rather familiar in the last decade and a half. Fascist dictatorship was first presented to the world by Benito Mussolini upon the occasion of the famous march on Rome in October, 1922. Mussolini himself did not actually partake in that famous march, but stayed safely in another city until he was advised that Rome was in the hands of the blackshirts.

tries were represented by only a few groups from illegal organizations.

The demonstrations, therefore, was the more impressive as showing the superb determination of the youth in the countries still enjoying democratic liberties to continue their relentless struggle against war and fascism, and for democratic Socialism.

The main feature of the demonstration consisted of almost endless files of the Belgian Young Guards marching proudly in their blue uniforms, the hope of the Socialist movement in that country for the years to come. There were also beautiful demonstrations by the French and Dutch Yipsels. There were other delegations from Denmark, Sweden, Great Britain, the United States, Bulgaria, Estonia, Italy, Luxemburg, Russia Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Palestine.

Comrade Koos Vorrink, president of the Youth International, opened the mass demonstration in the enclosure of the Palais du Justice with an address in which he reminded his hearers of the masses of young workers heart and soul with them who were prevented from attending by fascist barbarism, and described the constructive achievements of democratic Socialism in democratic countries, especially Scandinavia.

The following day the main demonstration was held in the stadium, to which the Socialist Youth marched to the wild cheers of tens of thousands of workers who packed the streets along the line of march. The foreign delegations were received with especial enthusiasm.

Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Socialist sage and president of the Labor and Socialist International, greeted the youth on behalf of the L.S.I., and read them the anti-war manifesto just adopted by the Bureau of the International (printed in this paper last month). He called upon the youth to be true to their ideals and, above all, to maintain the International as the instrument of working class struggle.

Other speakers were Erich Ollenhauer, secretary of the Youth International; Comrade Dumon, president of the French Young; Comrade Dauge, president of the Belgian Young Guards, and Comrade Godefroid, Secretary of the Belgian Young Guards.

Following the great public meetings, the Executive of the Socialist Youth International held an all-day session, fixing a policy, among other things, on the matter of the united front. It was voted that the Youth International would take no decision until discussions within the L.S.I. have led to definite results. It was voted that in the event the executive of the L.S.I. comes to a decision a new meeting of the Youth executive would be called to follow suit.

Two other decisions were the admission of the Federation of Socialist Young Workers of Roumania, and setting the next international meeting for August 23rd to 27th, 1935, at Copenhagen.

With the advent of Hitler and his gang of ruffians in Germany, attention has been diverted from the machinations of Mussolini and his blackshirts. Few people remember Mussolini's contemptuous remark: "Democracy is a rotten corpse upon which one should have no hesitancy in stamping," nor that he is also author of the statement: "Italy's dream is like a Mussulman's dream, it lies within the shadow of the sword."

Little or no consideration is being given to the extensive activities that Mussolini carries on in every country in the world, particularly in those regions where there are Italians. Many of us are wholly unfamiliar with the extraordinary actions Italian fascists have been resorting to in countries other than Italy in an effort to secure blind submission to the dictates of the Italian fascist state.

Detroit presents an illuminating picture of never-ending activity in the United States by emissaries of Mussolini to expound the idea of fascism, its brutality and denunciation of democratic methods. Recent events in the automobile city throw much light upon the efforts of the Italian fascist government to fasten its tentacles upon those of Italian descent in the United States.

Enter Ungarelli

Detroit has been blessed in the last few months with the presence of one Giacomo Ungarelli, Italian Vice-Consul. Ungarelli has been in Detroit a comparatively short time, having followed a Consul who evidently was not sufficiently vigilant and aggressive in inculcating the ideas of fascism in the Italian colony. Judging, however, by Ungarelli's efforts of the last few months, he will never be accused of lack of zeal for his government.

Most Italians in the United States are vulnerable to the direct demands made upon them by emissaries of Mussolini because they have relatives or friends in Italy. Their failure to comply generally finds repercussions in Italy, where persecution, discrimination, and even imprisonment may follow. With the contempt that Mussolini has shown for democratic methods and decent and honorable conduct,

Propaganda for Fascism Officials in America Terror

and his insistence upon having his way, regardless of the cost, one can readily appreciate the dilemma in which Italians, whether American citizens or not, find themselves, with the henchmen of Mussolini making requests for certain conduct calculated to help the cause of fascism.

"Educational" Work

When Giacomo Ungarelli came to Detroit, he first injected himself into what had been a laudable practice; namely, the use of public schools after school hours to teach Italian to children of Italians and others interested in learning the language. Ungarelli insisted that these classes be utilized for the dissemination of fascist propaganda, the glorification of fascism

with its war up to the vigilance together with the Conference Against the Detroit Board of a stop to that a propaganda.

For years the Italian society called Italy, non-sectarian and non-religious weld Italians together to make the Ungarelli found a fertile field for a met with resistant officials, Ungarelli dozen or more met them with intoxic to instill sufficient and sent them



Outside silk union strike headquarters in Paterson.

Communist "History"

By Otto Bauer

Translated by Hersch Rosenfeld

This is the second installment of the remarkable article by the Austrian Socialist leader, in which he gives documentary evidence of the virtual united front between the Dollfuss assassins in Vienna and the Communist publicity machine in Moscow in slandering the heroic Austrian Socialists and their leaders. Last week's article showed how Karl Radek, official Moscow propagandist, with only Dollfuss' lying "releases" before him, began a barrage of vilification against the Austrian Socialist leadership, which has been so widespread that even some Socialists have been misled into believing that the Austrian leaders "betrayed" their followers.

AFTER the February battles were over, the Communists continued their "confirmation" of the "treachery" of the Austrian Socialist leaders. Bela Kun, undisputed specialist in crushed revolutions, furnishes a sample of Communist criticism in his pamphlet, "The February Battles in Austria, and Their Lessons." He begins his account of the outbreak of the fighting as

follows:

"The Central Committee of the party did not summon the workers to the general strike, nor to the armed insurrection. The unions ordered the workers to resume work and to continue at work after they had joined the general strike, thanks to Communist influence. The leadership of the Schutzbund did not issue a call for the uprising. The Social Democratic leadership and that of the Schutzbund prohibited and hindered the distribution among the fighting workers of whatever arms were in their possession" (p. 99). "The workers were hindered by the Social Democracy and by the leadership of the Schutzbund from arming themselves" (p. 48). "Only the Communists had summoned the workers to the general strike and to the uprising" (p. 106). Any word of comment upon the writing of this kind of "history" would be superfluous.

Bela Kun wants to point out that the uprising had a chance to come out victorious if it were not for the "betrayal" by the Social Democrats and the leadership of the Schutzbund. And so he tells us on the one hand that the Schutzbund had cannon in its possession (p. 33), and on the other hand that

the government provided, part of the the workers. He s in two big barra march against the A Schutzbund con attack upon the M and met no opposi tured machine guns Radetzky barracks troops were fight during the insurre were going on bet true to the govern lutionary troops! for the Social broke the power of through hindering of arms among th and through their struggle, one part would have gone Schutzbundler, ass the uprising.

We invite all the ers who participat and who know t form their own o kind of history-wr

I do not want Kun's pamphlet; I ing and discussin grotesque misstat audacious lies, imp that Kun set sentences I h

NEW LEADER LABOR SECTION

Strikers Defy Guns and Gas

By Paul Porter

THE textile strikers' ranks were strengthened on the Maine-to-Alabama front this week as 85,000 hosiery workers were called out and as flying squadrons braved the murderous gunfire of hired thugs and the bayonets and gas of

troops to close open shop strongholds.

Labor history was made as almost a half million men and women rallied to the greatest strike in the textile industry and the most important since the railroad shopmen's walkout in 1922. In the center of the spotlight are the

thousands of new unionists in the South who are rapidly learning the bitter lessons of capitalist rule in industry and government and the inspiring power of labor solidarity. Ten of these unionists, in South and Georgia, were buried last week-end as martyrs in the workers' struggle for freedom. Scabs, dep-

utized as police officers, had murdered them. While thousands of their fellow-workers, with bared heads, paid honor to their bravery, messages of sympathy were received at general strike headquarters from the convention of the British Trade Union Congress, and a dozen powerful unions in Mex-

ico City struck in protest against their slaughter.

Boss Violence Continues

Mass violence also flared in Saylesville, and Woonsocket, R. I.; Salem, Mass.; Augusta, Me.; Hartford, Conn.; Hickory, N. C., and Lancaster, Pa., where mill guards and state troops have provoked the strikers since the beginning of the walkout and have ushered strike-breakers into the mills. The most serious trouble since the massacre at Honea Path, S. C., occurred at Saylesville, where a two-day battle has been fought between the militia and the strikers.

The tear-gas bombs of the troops were answered by a volley of cobble stones. Fire hose lines were seized by strikers and turned upon their attackers.

Governors to the Rescue

Responding to the concerted pressure of the employers, the capitalist governors of eight states, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, have mobilized national guardsmen in an effort to break the strike.

Every one of these governors, as many workers are bitterly pointing out, is a "New Deal" executive. They have rallied to the bosses who financed their campaigns as readily as any Republican governor in the past. Governor Brann remained as mum as an oyster until final returns in Maine's balloting showed his re-election and then ordered five companies to Lewiston.

Reports from various strike centers indicate widespread resentment against the open alliance between the mill owners and the state governments, and many workers are declaring that the United Textile Workers, in line with its convention resolution in favor of a Labor Party, should take concrete steps to organize such a party in the near future. Socialists, without confusing the

(Continued on Page Seven)



After the defeat of the Communist-led strike in one Gastonia mill in 1929, Gaston County, focal textile area, seemed safe from unionism. But here are a few of Gastonia's 1934 strikers in the city's municipal park, and it is 100% behind the UTW walkout.

Flying Squadrons Shut Mills in Gibraltar of Anti-Unionism

By M. B. Johnson

GREENVILLE, S. C.—One hundred and fifty automobiles and ten trucks carrying more than a thousand strikers are rolling over the hills of South Carolina from cotton mill to cotton mill. This is the Flying Squadron, which "persuades" mill managements to shut down and release the workers so they can get on the picket line where they belong.

Today the Flying Squadron came to Greenville and the capitalist press which has been running headlines, "Greenville—Center of the Anti-Strike Area," will have to tell a different story tomorrow. John Peel, third vice-president of the U.T.W.A., says, "We know we are going to succeed now because Greenville, the Gibraltar of anti-unionism, is falling fast, in spite of the national guard."

That manufacturer's pet, Governor Blackwood, promised the Greenville mill owners the National Guard to keep their mills running. But although two units of the Guard stood at attention with fixed bayonets in front of the

Duncan mills, the Flying Squadron closed the mill when the 12 o'clock shift came out. By 2 o'clock the Flying Squadron was at the Judson mills and closed them as the shifts changed. The Brandon mills were next. There are so many mills in the Greenville section that the Flying Squadron has another good day's work before it can go on to Seneca.

The workers at Seneca have been out on strike for 17 weeks, but the mills are running with a light force, largely scabs from outside. Three hundred union members heard President Brookshire of the State Federation of Labor, and Edward Johnson, tell about the successes of the Flying Squadron. President Brookshire concluded, "Cheer up, boys, Santa Claus is on his way to Seneca and will be here tomorrow," while the crowd cheered wildly.

The Liberty mill, 75 per cent union, wants Santa Claus too. The workers were all ready to close the mill themselves when the bosses got wind of it and interfered with the fireman who was to pull the

(Continued on Page Seven)

Behind the Scenes in Washington

By Benjamin Meiman

Special Correspondent

SOME sign of optimism is shown in the statement issued by the President's Mediation Board regarding "a settlement of the textile strike which will be fair to workers, employers and the public," but it is far from reassuring.

The NRA is being split sharply on the inside over the textile strike situation. A few more such splits and it will be in shreds.

One crowd is trying now to make the government intervene in behalf of the workers on the ground that the industry has failed to live up to the code. This crowd is putting steam pressure under Gen. Johnson, who has clamped down the lid and is sitting precariously on it. Undoubtedly he will be able to keep the thing under control, but the situation is very interesting.

For instance, the Labor Advisory Board (acting unofficially) is supposed to have made certain secret

(Continued on Page Seven)

Rush Relief Fund Immediately, Emergency Committee Beseeches

THE following appeal has been issued in behalf of the textile strikers:

In the name of half a million textile workers of the nation, the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief appeals to you and your friends to bring food, medical care and clothing to the families of the strikers, to the wives and children of the dead and wounded.

In the deep South where exploited workers seemed just a short time ago to be weary to the point of apathy, thousands of textile workers are today battling for their families and their unions. Five years ago when the Marion massacre occurred, and the Gastonia strike was overwhelmed by the textile tyranny of the North and South, the hope was that some day the workers of the whole industry would together strike for the fundamental rights of men and workers.

Today they are striking; today they are picketing; today they are marching in the face of bayonets and guns and tear gas—all the grim weapons that merchants of death provide.

Frank J. Gorman, leader of the textile strike, has asked this committee to provide relief for the strikers. In many communities, the promised aid from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has not been forthcoming. Today's papers carry reports of local relief officials in New England and the South who declare they will not feed strikers.

But the workers must eat today; they must be cared for immediately. We must not let them and their families picket the mills with hungry stomachs. Send funds at once to the Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, 112 East 19th Street, New York City. This is no time for fancy appeals. We ask you to give, we ask you to get your friends and neighbors to give all they can. Old clothes can be used as never before. You can send that to the committee, too. But money is the great need!

The appeal is signed by Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr and John Herling, as chairman, treasurer and executive secretary, respectively.

General Strike Headquarters Broadcasting

Half-Hour Sketch Presents Vivid "Narrative" of a Day in Commanding Officer's Dugout

WE bring to readers of THE NEW LEADER a detailed story of a day at U.T.W. central strike headquarters in Washington. Vice-President Gorman, general in immediate command of the force of half a million strikers, speaks first to the listeners over WEVD. Then follows a half hour sketch drawn from actual episodes at headquarters. The whole scene was relayed to WEVD by telephone to New York and thence broadcast. We believe it will bring home to strike sympathizers what actually is happening on the thousand-mile battle front.

Half Million Workers Will Not Go Back Till They're Satisfied—Nation's Looms and Spindles Silent

STRIKE HEADQUARTERS, United Textile Workers, Carpenters' Building, Washington, D. C. I am happy to be able to address the audience of Station WEVD and to bring you the latest reports from the most amazing industrial conflict America has known in our time. We shall bring you a portrayal of a day along the strike lines, so that you may visualize more clearly the meaning of the strike to the men and women who have left their jobs for a principle and for the righting of great economic wrongs.

Today we have had the thunder of guns. Today our men and women have been tortured and shot. Governors have wheeled state militia into action. The hired thugs of mill management have done their work as the creators of violence. They have done what they were paid to do.

Today a half million textile workers are on strike. On every hand the looms and spindles are silent. These men and women will not go back until they go back with the satisfaction of their just demands.

Army Growing

We have been on strike now for ten days. I have been asked many times how this army has held its lines, how it has carried on this enormous struggle, enlarging its ranks each day, growing, growing, growing in strength, in numbers and, above all, in determination.

It is a fair question. It is easy to answer. Courage is bred out of the souls of men and women when they are faced with the hour of testing. They are faced today with that testing. They have suffered beyond imagination. Their minds and their bodies have been torn and broken by the hideous stretch-out system, until they are resolved that it is better to stand and fight, no matter what the odds, than go back to the torture of what they have left behind.

Although we do not intend to ask for relief, we say to our friends that if they wish to help, that help will be received with a gratitude that rises from a million hearts. If you are moved to support the cause of human justice, then send your help. There is need for it.

How to Help

Many individuals and organizations have offered us their help. We know that ten millions are out of work and that our strikers are no worse off than they. But there is this vital difference. We are engaged in a great conflict to determine whether men and women can be free Americans in the textile mills of America. We are engaged in a great crusade. If you are moved to give your help to that crusade, that the men and women of the textile mills may more ably carry on this epic struggle, then send your help. Send it to Francis F. Gorman, Chairman of the United Textile Workers' Strike Committee, Carpenters' Building, Washington, D. C.

The subject of the strike fills my heart and I could talk with you for hours about the heroism of the strikers, about the evils that caused the strike, about the forces arrayed against us. But we have chosen another method of showing you the facts about the textile strike. We shall take you through a day of the strike—this day, if you please. From Maine to Georgia the battle lines are stretched. We shall view the scene as I see it every day. It is dramatic. It is arresting. It is filled with mighty power and it has its moments of

appalling pathos. It is the most human thing in all America today.

Mrs. Claxton: Mr. Gorman, here are the early telegrams.

Gorman: Thank you. Please ask John H. Powers, member of the strike committee, to step in while we read these reports.

Miss Plunkett: Mr. Gorman, here are the reports by mail from division headquarters.

from you.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Women's Trade Union League wishes to offer its co-operation in the textile strike.

DURHAM, N. C.—Out here 4,000 strong. Morale of strikers the best.

Powers: Frank, those are wonderful.

Gorman: Mrs. Gilfillan, will you

have the lawful right to picket. Maintain discipline. Close more mills. Guns shall not drive us back into the mills. Tear-gas shall not break this strike. Beware of false reports. Do not allow your forces to be provoked by armed thugs in mill employ. Hold the lines. The strike goes on.

(Telegraph instrument begins as Mr. Gorman speaks the last two words "goes on" and sends the entire message.)

Gorman: Shooting, shooting, shooting—north and south—the heroism of our people is magnificent.

Wright: Mr. Gorman, it is press conference time.

Voices: Wolfe, Gaylord, Knapp, Carruth: Good morning, Mr. Gorman. What is the news this morning?

Gorman: Good morning, gentlemen. The news is that the entire strike situation is satisfactory.

Wolfe: Mr. Gorman, my paper has asked me to get from you a concise summary of the issues in this strike. Would you—

Gorman (breaking in): Yes, Mr. Wolfe. Let me put the issues as I have put them a thousand times.

When the strike began, we had less employment than at any time since the code went into effect. Only the 30-hour week will remedy unemployment. We demand the 30-hour week and an equitable readjustment of wages. We demand an end of the stretch-out system and we demand recognition of the United Textile Workers of America as the spokesmen for the textile workers.

Knapp: Mr. Gorman, would you mind describing the stretch-out?

Gorman: Well, Mr. Knapp, if you were called upon by your paper to do four times your normal amount of work, that would be like the stretch-out. There is a nor-



Three girl strikers (who look as though they ought to be in high school) walking to Gastonia demonstration and getting in some good whacks on the way

Gorman: Thank you, Miss Plunkett. John, let me read you some of the wire reports. They show the lines growing everywhere. Listen to this:

LEGANON, N. H.—Lebanon Woolen Co. workers have walked out with us 100 per cent and 95 per cent joined our locals of Lebanon.

SPINDALE, N. C.—Pickets surround Spencer Mill. Situation looks bright.

DANVILLE, Va.—Schoolfield and Danville authorities refuse peaceful picketing. Threaten arrest of pickets.

COLUMBUS, Ga.—Mills here at dead standstill. No mill will be operated here until settlement is reached. Things quiet and peaceful all the way through. Our people in best of spirits. Co-operation wonderful. Mills guarded to see they don't pull anything.

PORT JERVIS, N. Y.—Local 1738 out 100 per cent.

BURLINGTON, N. C.—Everything quiet. Mills closed 100 per cent.

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Allentown out 100 per cent, with exception of 20 workers.

AUGUSTA, Me.—Local 1778 out 95 per cent.

WILLIAMSPORT, Pa.—1,300 silk workers out; 200 ribbon workers are coming.

COLUMBUS, Ga.—10,000 textile workers here have voted to abide by the agreement you accept. Have visited other unions in Georgia and Alabama and find them the same way. Don't weaken. You have as much right to speak for your union as Sloan has for his.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.—Strike situation very good. Crown and other mills out.

YORK, Pa.—York County out 100 per cent.

WOONSOCKET, R. I.—Woonsocket mills down 99 per cent, affecting 35 mills and 8,000 employees.

DEXTER, Me.—Local 2015, all three mills closed, 500 out.

CONCORD, N. C.—Concord holding the lines.

DYERSBURG, Tenn.—This mill closed entirely until further orders

please see if the teletype reports have begun running?

Mrs. Gilfillan: Yes, Mr. Gorman.

Gorman: I wonder, John, how many realize that in this strike we are using all of the modern methods of distant communication right out of our own office—teletype to bring us news from everywhere; the telegraph, the telephone and the radio. Our Public Relations Department uses all of these constantly, but I wonder how generally



Police deputy (thug to you) arrests strike pickets outside Pepperell Mills, Fall River, Mass.

that is realized. You see—Chester M. Wright (breaking in): Troops are called out in Connecticut, Frank, they are—(Bugle Blows Assembly.)

(Firing—mob noises—a scream.) Wright: The teletype brings this report, Frank: Pickets were fired upon after some unknown person threw a stone. Three were badly hurt.

Gorman: Always the same story. Thank you, Mr. Wright.

Miss Plunkett, will you take this telegram? To all division vice-presidents: Hold the lines tight everywhere. Our men and women

mal work-load per worker. The mills have doubled that load and in many cases they have increased it 400 per cent and more.

Carruth: Will you tell me for the International Labor News Service what is the condition regarding relief?

Gorman: Yes, Mr. Carruth. We have not asked for relief, because millions of unemployed are as badly off as our strikers. But we are in a tremendous conflict and help will be more than welcome. When we have won this strike, it will mean a great reduction in the total production, when we can go back

of unemployed and so it will help the whole national problem.

Clarke: Why did the United Textile Workers propose arbitration?

Gorman: Because, Mr. Clarke, the union felt its case would convince any fair board and because we felt that the presidential board was a fair board. Our people have been fooled by boards for a year; driven further down all the time, but we felt that we could rest our case before this board with assurance of a fair hearing and a fair and quick reward. We agreed to abide by the award.

Wolfe: But the employers have refused arbitration.

Gorman: Yes, the time-limit on our proposal expired an hour ago and our proposal was rejected. Management has not lost its arrogance.

Gaylord: What now?

Gorman: The strike goes on. New instructions will go forward tomorrow morning. The strike will go on until we have won complete victory. Say for me that we have entered this struggle to win and we shall win. Say for me, too, that the number of our friends grows each day.

Reporters i. Chorus: Thank you, Mr. Gorman.

Gorman: Good bye, gentlemen. I shall look for you at 10:30 in the morning.

(Telegraph instrument bringing in last words of a message) — buried this afternoon at 7:15 o'clock your time, victim of mill guards. Sig. Fox.

Mrs. Claxton: Mr. Gorman, here is a telegram for you.

Gorman: Thank you, Mrs. Claxton. It says that the funeral of Leon Carroll is being held in Augusta, Geo. He was a striker, shot on picket duty. I wonder—Mr. Whiting, see if you can bring that service in on the radio.

(Voices, singing the last bar, faintly, while tuned in—growing in volume — — Nearer to Thee.) Minister: We have paid final tribute to this heroic and beloved brother, a martyr to the cause of labor everywhere. He died in line of duty. We now consign his body to the grave. Ashes to ashes. Dust to dust. The brave and loyal spirit returns to the God that gave it.

(Drum rolls. Bugle blows aps.) (Telegraph instrument begins to click, writing the word: All New York pickets holding the lines solid.)

Miss McGuire: Mr. Gorman, here is a telegram from Eastern Division Headquarters.

Gorman: Thank you, Miss McGuire. (Reads wire.) "All New York pickets holding the lines solid." That reminds me, Mike, see if you can bring in that meeting at Pawtucket headquarters.

Whiting: I think we can get it. (Telegraph clicks, typewriter is heard, voices are heard slightly.)

Whiting: Here it comes from Pawtucket.

(Voices breaking in with song.)

Speaker: Fellow Trade Unionists. From all up and down the great battle line we have the word that our ranks are holding. Here in our own city the situation is more than we could have expected. We have one duty. That is to see that every man remains in his place until we have won this great conflict for human rights. The great mills stand idle. Without us the mills are but empty shacks. When we leave the spindles and the looms, their decay begins. Nothing moves without labor. Labor we have won this strike, it will return to the mills, to begin a great reduction in the total production, when we can go back

Tax the Utilities' Profits!

Laidler Opens Campaign For Controller; Outlines Socialist Finance Plan

WITH the statement, "We Socialists insist that the city government immediately take steps to impose a tax sufficient to recapture the excess earnings of the great utilities of this city," Dr. Harry W. Laidler, Socialist candidate for controller, opened his campaign on the platform of meeting city expenses without further burdening the masses. Dr. Laidler made his first campaign address over Sta. WEVD last Tuesday evening.

It is Laidler's contention that an excess profit tax would yield the city over \$38,000,000 which could be used for increasing the social services of the city, after all obligations are met and salary cuts are restored.



H. W. Laidler

Dr. Laidler, one of the foremost economists in the country, is following out the program which has been hammered at in the columns of The New Leader since the inauguration of the LaGuardia banker-backed fusion administration. It is the Socialist platform to make the bankers pay for the huge municipal debt, piled up during successive Tammany administrations, rather than the already over-burdened masses, and the under-paid and over-worked city employees.

In addition to the excess-profit tax to be levied on public utilities, Dr. Laidler favors the plan of ending the notorious "bankers' agreement," in meeting the interest on the municipal debt, which is the first consideration in the budget; passage of a state law permitting the levying of higher income taxes on the large incomes; and of taxing the profits of commercial banks, as well as the establishment of a municipal bank.

Such a program would be possible only under Socialist rule. Laidler as a Socialist is free of obligation to big business interests leaving him in a position to carry out the Socialist program.

The plans to balance the city budget advanced by the LaGuardia administration would include the dismissal of all city employees over seventy, cutting the wages of all remaining city employees, and cutting down on all educational, relief, and other social service appropriations. Under the Socialist plan such "economies" would be unnecessary.

Dr. Laidler said in his address: "Adequate revenue must be obtained this year for the relief of the 400,000 families in the city who are in desperate need of help. This revenue should be secured from those most able to pay. It should not come from taxes such as the general business tax, which can be passed on to the millions of consumers, employed and unemployed in higher prices. It should not be imposed in cases where the tax is subject to wholesale evasions.

"The public utilities of the city should be publicly owned and should serve the inhabitants of New York, as in hundreds of municipalities throughout the world, without profit. In New York City we have handed franchises over to private monopoly. Our utility monopolies have been given great

privileges by the city with profits guaranteed by the state. They are not entitled to excessive profits. If they gain such profits, the public should be in a position to step in and recapture them, particularly in time of great crisis, such as the present. An analysis of the net income of the principal utilities of New York City just made by the Research Secretary of the Socialist Party, Benjamin Haskel, shows an excess income of \$38,616,000 over and above 6 per cent in legitimate capitalization for the year ending December 31, 1933, and, in case of buses, for the year ending June 30, 1934. The surplus income of the electrical and gas companies is as follows:

Consolidated Gas Co.	\$28,642,549
Brooklyn Union Gas Co.	916,524
Brooklyn Boro Gas Co.	416,524
Staten Island Edison Co.	26,115
Kings County Lighting Co.	369,528
Queensboro Gas & Electric ...	961,230
N. Y. & Richmond Gas Co.	239,137

"The surplus over 6 per cent of the New York Telephone Company was approximately \$2,885,572; of the New York Rapid Transit Corporation, \$3,092,449, while the remaining surplus came from the privately owned water, bus and transit companies.

"During 1933, the Consolidated Gas Company and its affiliated companies secured a net income of \$48,896,442, an income on their fixed capital, minus depreciation, long term indebtedness and preferred stock, of 14.4 per cent. The Brooklyn Union Gas Company has a net income of \$4,587,142, 7.4 per cent on their capital base; the Brooklyn Boro Gas Company, 18 per cent, and Kings County Lighting Company, 14.5 per cent. The Queensboro Gas and Electric Company presents the amazing spectacle of earning a net income available for common stockholders of \$963,752 on an equity on the part of such stockholders of \$42,025 (after deducting depreciation, preferred stock and long term indebtedness from the fixed assets).

"Take, for instance, the salaries paid by the utility companies. Louis Waldman rightly claims that, considering the public character of the utility services, excessive salaries in this time of stress should not be allowed. Over a million dollars a year ago for salaries of utility officials over and above \$10,000. The Consolidated Gas Company, not including affiliates, paid \$204,466 in 1933 in such surplus salaries; the New York Telephone Company, over \$145,000; the Brooklyn Union Gas Company, over \$134,000, and so the story goes. And then there are excessive legal expenses incurred in fighting against rate reductions, advertising expenses, etc., which the public is constantly paying."

"Of real estate taxes proper," Dr. Laidler declared, "the City has written off as uncollectible taxes during the 28 years from 1905 to 1932 only \$61,243,721, or 1,0247 per cent of the levies. In view of this fact; in view of the marked recent improvement in the collection of delinquent taxes; in view of the fact that tax collections are to be on a quarterly basis from January, 1937, and that the present situation in New York is a desperate one from the standpoint of relief, immediate steps should be taken to eliminate this reserve. During good times such reserves are of value in freeing the city from the necessity of constantly going to the bankers for short term loans in advance of tax collections, but

ALBERT HALPERN

As we go to press we receive the shocking news of the sudden death of Albert Halpern, one of the finest Socialists in New York. Comrade Halpern had given close to forty years' unselfish service to the cause of human emancipation, and was one of the best-loved comrades in the East. Among his activities was long and valued service as treasurer of The New Leader Association. A more extended notice will appear next week.

Funeral services at Garlick's Funeral Parlor, 367 Grand St., New York, Friday, Sept. 14, at noon.

The New Leader asks all members of the Association and its readers to attend the funeral.

this is not the time to raise a huge reserve fund."

Dr. Laidler again called attention to the desirability of taxing the profits of commercial banks as a means of increasing revenues for relief—dividends in 1932 of such city banks were \$102,121,500, on a capital stock of \$573,885,000, or 17.79 per cent on capital stock. He declared that the surplus on the book value of the stocks and bonds of the savings banks of the city, as reported by the Banking Department, was \$582,777,977 on January 1, 1934, and that several millions of dollars should be available for relief purposes from this surplus.

He likewise contended that the city should use its influence with the legislature to increase the income tax on the higher income levels and obtain a larger share in that tax. Unlike other states, the rate of taxation on incomes in New York State does not increase from incomes of \$10,000 to incomes of \$40,000. Considerable revenue could be obtained by graduating the rates with the advance of every few thousand dollars in income.

Referendum Voting

By the Office of Local New York

WE are listing the branches which will meet this week for the purpose of voting on the Declaration of Principles. A number of branches have as yet not sent in their notifications as to the precise time of their meetings and we strongly urge them to do so immediately. All notices of such meetings being sent to members must be by means of the form letter which we have prepared in the party office. We will mimeograph such notices for each branch, with the fullest instructions covering the entire procedure of the referendum balloting.

A number of matters must be kept in mind by all branch officers. The voting takes place at only ONE meeting. The fullest opportunity should be granted to all members to vote. While strictly adhering to the rules laid down by the party, nothing should remain undone in an effort to help members express their honest vote on this question. The office stands ready every day to cooperate and facilitate the task of securing such expression of opinion.

We therefore list the branches below which will meet for this purpose next week. Party members of such branches who may not, for some reason or other, receive an official letter from their branch officers are urged to attend the branch meeting anyway because the list which follows is official:

Monday, September 17
17th-18th-20th A. D., Manhattan, meeting at 1538 Madison Ave., New York, at 8 p. m.

4th-14th A. D., Kings, meeting at 241 South 4th St., Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.

Midwood Branch, meeting in Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Ave. P., Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.

A amalgamated Cooperative Branch, meeting in Amalgamated Houses, Assembly Hall, at 8 p. m.
Brighton Branch, Kings, at 1113 Brighton Beach Ave., Brooklyn, at 8 p. m.

Tuesday, September 18
12th A. D., Manhattan, meeting at home of Norman Thomas, 206 East 18th St., at 8 p. m.
Jamaica Branch, at 9218 N. Y. Boulevard, Jamaica, L. I., at 8 p. m.
East Flatbush, 2nd A. D., at 539 East 95th St., Brooklyn.

19th-21st A. D., at 2005 Seventh Ave., New York. Discussion only. Voting on Sept. 25.

Wednesday, September 19
Coney Island Branch, at 2202 Mermaid Ave., Brooklyn.
East Flatbush (Jewish), at 243 East 95th St., Brooklyn.

Thursday, September 20
Harlem Jewish Branch, at 1538 Madison Ave., New York.
Staten Island, Richmond County, at 1973 Richmond Terrace, Staten Island.

Downtown Jewish Branch, at 175 East Broadway, New York.

Branch 1, Jewish, Bronx, at 1581 Washington Ave., New York.

Friday, September 21
German Branch, at Queens Lyceum, Forest and Putnam Aves., Brooklyn.

Finnish Branch, at 2056 Fifth Ave., New York.

1st A. D., Bronx, at 262 Cypress Ave., Bronx.

NOTE:—All those who are unable to personally appear at the branch meetings because of illness or work are to write a letter to Julius Gerber, Executive Secretary, 7 East 15th Street, New York, and make a request for an absentee ballot. It is necessary to enclose the party card in making such request. The comrade can then vote by mail.

Rand School Opens 29th Year

THE new Rand School Bulletin is out. It gives the program for the first part of the 29th year of this Socialist educational institution. All of the old features are there, and one or two new ones.

The regular work of the school will start Sept. 24th. The only event before that date will be the Institute for the discussion of the work of Socialist youth.

The Workers' Training Course, the afternoon classes for women, the various cultural courses, the Saturday discussion-luncheons will continue with various improvements. One entirely new department is added, a series of Alertness courses for teachers, afternoons from 4 to 6 on various days of the week, beginning Sept. 24th. Another important departure is a tie-up between the Rand School and Station WEVD. The Saturday luncheons and certain other events will be regularly broadcast.

The Workers' Training Course will be more definitely outlined than heretofore, and the scholarship students will be held to a higher standard. It is planned to accept only one hundred first-year students for this course, and those who are accepted will be required to do consistent work. Members of labor unions, the Socialist party, the Y.P.S.L., the Young Circle League and the Workmen's Circle are eligible for scholarships.

The office is now open for registration, and new students are already coming in. Last year the school opened with new class rooms. This year the office, the lower hall, and the Meyer London Library have been completely made over.

Five afternoon courses will be

given for teachers, to consist of 15 two-hour sessions and will carry full "alertness" credit. They will be given from four o'clock to six. The attendance will not be absolutely limited to teachers. The courses are as follows: Historic High Lights in Music, Adele T. Katz—Mondays; Introduction to Sociology, Alter E. Fischhof—Mondays; The Life of the Mind, a course in Psychology, Joseph Jasnow—Tuesdays; Appreciation of Literature, David P. Berenberg—Wednesdays; Social and Political Philosophy, Abraham Edel—Thursdays.

The Workers' Training Course.—The only change in the Workers' Training Course announced is a reduction of the number of new students who will be received and tightening up of the course of study. It is planned to receive only 100 first-year students and to give them a rigid training in Socialism and labor unionism. As usual, scholarships will be given to members of the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League, the Workmen's Circle, the Young Circle League, and labor unions.

It is now especially necessary that those desiring to secure scholarships should make application immediately. All preliminaries must be arranged before the term opens Sept. 24. Scholarship students will pay a matriculation fee of \$1 and, in addition, will make a deposit of \$5 which will be returned upon the completion of one year's work. All party branches are asked to select one or two young members who may be expected to be good material for this class.

Free Course to New Members.—The Rand School is supported by

the Socialist Party, and the new program has been arranged to serve the party members. A special service will be rendered in the education of new members. Any person who has joined the party since Sept. 1, 1933, may take any one of a group of courses on Socialism or Labor Unionism upon the payment of the matriculation fee of \$1. Party branches are asked to make their own educational work easier by sending members over to take the courses at the school.

Women's Afternoon Courses.—The afternoon courses for women which have been so very successful during the past two years will be continued. They will start on Nov. 18 and 19 and will consist of 12 sessions. The following courses will be offered: The Tragedy of Waste, Esther Friedman—Mondays at 1:30; Public Speaking, Esther Friedman, Rebecca Jarvis and August Claessens—Mondays at 3; Social and Political Revolutions, William E. Bohn—Tuesdays at 1:30.

English Russian and Music.—There will be two classes in English, one more advanced than the other, both taught by Rebecca Jarvis. English A will be given Mondays and Wednesdays at 7, and English B Tuesdays and Thursdays at 7. The Russian classes will be taught by Elias L. Tartak on Tuesdays. The Beginners' Class at 7, and the Advanced Class at 8:30. Adele T. Katz will continue, at 7 on Tuesdays, the congenial task of building up a Socialist chorus. Young comrades who have voices are asked to enter her class in Sight Singing. Her course of lectures, called Adventures in Music, will be given Tuesdays at 8:30.

Town Hall Rally to Open Campaign

Solomon, Thomas, Laidler Will Launch Election Battle Sept. 30

THE Socialist city and state campaign will be formally opened at the annual Town Hall rally, which will be held this year in the evening of Sunday, September 30th.

For the past five years the Socialist campaign in New York has been launched at a Town Hall meeting, the success of which has been a barometer of the intensity of the fight that follows. During the past three years the Town Hall meetings have been amazing successes, vast overflows unable to get into the hall being addressed from the marquee outside, the thousands singing and cheering for hours while the fine speeches were made within the hall.

This year for the first time the meeting will be held in the evening rather than Sunday afternoon, a considerable improvement.

The speakers' list will be headed by Charles Solomon and Norman

Thomas, candidates for Governor and United States Senator, and they will be supported by William Karlin, candidate for Attorney General, Harry W. Laidler, candidate for controller, and Charles W. Noonan and August Claessens,

candidates for Congressmen-at-large, and Rachel Panken, Samuel Orr and B. C. Vladeck, candidates for Congress.

State Chairman Louis Waldman will be chairman.

Tickets for the meeting are available at the party office, the office of The New Leader and all branch headquarters. Readers should mail in names and addresses of outsiders who are possible converts to our cause for tickets to the meeting.

MORRIS HILLQUIT MEMORIAL MEETING



Morris Hillquit

ON Sunday afternoon, October 7th, at Town Hall, there will be held a memorial meeting for our late Comrade Morris Hillquit. Many labor unions and fraternal organizations are cooperating in making this meeting a worthy expression of the love and reverence in which Morris Hillquit has been held by all of us. Members are requested to make no other engagements for that afternoon and to join us all in honoring the memory of our late beloved leader.

Negro Workers Have No Hope Other Than in Socialism

ON Labor Day the Union Mechanics' Association of Harlem held a demonstration ending in a mass meeting at Dorrence Brooks Square, at which Frank R. Crosswaith delivered the principal address. The speech, as read for Crosswaith by Ivan G. Glasgow, secretary of the Association, was broadcast over Station WNYC. The demonstration was the first of its kind ever to be held in Harlem.

Crosswaith said: "On this Labor Day, Negro Harlem for the first time in its history takes its place actively among the enlightened forces of American labor." Credit for this new interest among the Negroes he gave to the work of the Association, which at present numbers about three hundred, and which is one hundred per cent behind the Socialist Party.

Comrade Crosswaith traced the growth of Negro trade unions in the South following the Civil War, showed their ascent to power, and then their rapid deterioration when white laborers began to be shown preference and were able to drive the Negroes out of the unions. The natural result of this, he says, was to force the Negroes into the position where they either became scabs, or starved; and Crosswaith feels that a vast amount of credit is due the Negro for not succumbing any more than he did. He feels that the charge that the Negro is the scab worker of America is totally unjustified.

Discussing the present discrimination against the Negro worker, Crosswaith said that it is not only in the industrial field that this discrimination is felt. In all branches of the government—federal, state and municipal—he is the victim of bigoted racial prejudice. But the worst blow of all to the Negroes of Harlem is the employment of all forms of white laborers

to do any and all repair and building work around Harlem, where Negroes form the largest proportion of rent payers. In making this statement, he said he does not want it felt that he is advocating that Harlem be made the workshop for Negroes, but what he does ask is that Negro workers be given an equal chance with white laborers.

In closing his speech, Crosswaith said: "In the days immediately ahead, it is our intention to watch with wide-open eyes the conduct of all elected officials controlling public workers. We shall not rest, nor permit anyone else to rest, until the Negro worker gets justice. It is well for all concerned to know that Negroes have turned a new leaf in their book of bloody and painful experience. The days of the satisfied and brutalized black man is gone forever. A new Negro comes to the fore who recognizes the importance of solidarity among all workers. He understands the economic basis of his problem, and he is determined to apply himself intelligently and with courage to a solution of his problem."



F. R. Crosswaith

Harlem Opens Campaign And New Headquarters

On Saturday evening, Sept. 29, the headquarters of the East Harlem branches will be opened with a gala celebration at 1538 Madison Ave. (near 103rd Street). A splendid revival in strength and activity has recently taken place in the branches and Y.P.S.L. circles in the 17th and 18th A. D., the old fighting ground where Morris Hillquit made his brilliant campaign for Congressman and where August Claessens, Maurice S. Calman and Edward F. Cassidy were elected as Assemblyman and Aldermen.

Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, William Karlin, Dr. Maurice S. Calman and August Claessens have been invited to attend. The guests of honor will include Edward F. Cassidy, candidate for Congress, 20th District; John Herling, candidate for Senate, 17th District; Emanuel Switkes and Charles Youngstein, candidates for Assembly, 17th and 18th Districts.

Jamaica Campaign to Start

The Socialists of Jamaica, L. I., will launch their campaign Saturday night, Sept. 22, with a string of street meetings along Jamaica Ave., from Sutphin Ave. to 168th St., holding a meeting every three or four blocks.

PARTY NEWS

MANHATTAN
19th-21st Branch. Dance arranged for Saturday, September 15, at headquarters, 2005 Seventh Ave., between 120th and 121st Sts., for the benefit of textile strikers.

Upper West Side (100 W. 72nd St.). "Roosevelt's New Deal" will be subject of lecture by Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on Monday eve., Sept. 17, at 8:30.

19th-21st A. D. Study class on Socialism and public speaking every Wednesday evening. Discussion on Declaration Friday eve., Sept. 14, with Crosswaith and David Kaplan defending respective positions. Local labor committee formed to sponsor organization and support of trade union activities in Harlem and Greater New York. Committee at present cooperating with Taxi Chauffeurs' Union.

BROOKLYN
Brighton Beach Branch. Our branch, together with Workmen's Circle and the Y.P.S.L. is sponsoring bazaar to raise money for educational activities. Hundreds of dollars' worth of merchandise has been collected, articles varying from a comb to a Steinway piano. A fine program has been arranged for the dates—the week beginning Saturday, Sept. 30, and extending for an entire week. Address is 1113 Brighton Beach Ave. and headquarters can be reached with BMT Brighton Line to Brighton Beach Station.

BRONX
East Bronx Campaign. The first of a series of outdoor rallies Saturday, Sept. 22, at Wilkins and Intervale Aves. Loudspeaker will be available. Speakers: Marcus, Woskow, Claessens and others.

Regulars and Irregular Battle for Regularity

By Sidney Hart

ONE of the political problems which is supposed to be agitating the electorate of New York City is the question: When is a "reguar" Democrat not a "regular" Democrat? Along about Primary Day, when the cat-and-dog fight for nominations on the old party tickets takes place, "regularity" becomes an important asset.

Just what constitutes regularity, in a political sense, is one of those subtleties of American politics which leaves the average voter flabbergasted. Sometimes, curiously enough, in order to be regular a politician has to be irregular. There are even some noble statesmen who make a virtue of being regular irregulars.

Of course, there's a method to this apparent madness. From the standpoint of political principles, there can be no real separation

between the Democratic and Republican parties. The anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic Democratic bigots in the South have as much in common with the Al Smith-Max Steuer plunderers in the Democratic Party in the North as the anti-Wall Street, pro-inflation Republicans of the West have with pro-Wall Street, anti-inflation Republicans of the East.

That being the case, why do these parties persist as separate entities? The answer is to be found in the vast hierarchy of professional "politicians," from the national chairman to the district captain, who suck the life blood of the body politic. In common language this hierarchy is known, in both old parties, as the "organization." The members of the "organization" are the self-constituted hirelings of the master class, ready at all times to win elections in exchange for jobs, favors or cold cash.

It naturally follows that loyalty

to the organization—that is, "regularity"—is the watchword of all the political leeches. The difficulty arises when a new set of politicians within one party obtains control of the distribution of the "boodle." Then the clubhouse hangers-on rush around like rats in a sinking ship seeking to sell themselves to the newly enthroned boodlers.

A case in point is the fight for spoils in the Bronx. In recent years the Bronx vote has been closely controlled by Tammany Hall's district captains. With the election of President Roosevelt, the Union Square Benevolent Society came upon lean days.

LaGuardia's election meant virtual famine. Secretary of State Edward J. Flynn, Roosevelt's errand boy in the Bronx, acquired control of the boodle.

Consequently, the enrolled Democrats in the Bronx were faced with three or four candidates in the Primary, all claiming to be the "Regular Democratic Designees." Those running under Flynn's aegis are convinced that the favors will continue to flow from the White House. Others hope that there is still some life in Tammany Hall. Another variety of Democrat thinks they ought to string along with LaGuardia.

"Regularity" means "regularity of spoils." Every man takes his chance with the bunch of plunderers out of which he thinks he can get most for himself.

It is one thing to change loyalties within the Democratic or Republican parties. It is quite another to flit about from party to party. This requires the sort of special talent which is the happy birth-right of political will-o'-the-wisps like Fiorella LaGuardia. At the present moment, the "Little Flower" is blooming in a garden of assorted political stinkweeds—irregular Democrats, regular Republicans, fancy Fusionists and lugubrious Liberals. The "Little Flower," nevertheless, belongs in his garden. He may be an orchid to Samuel Seabury, but he is poison ivy to the working class—attractive-looking, but dangerous.

This is the essence of old party politics: a vicious scramble to serve the exploiters for the sake of the pillage. Never has the obscenity of this performance been more striking than it is now, with the class struggle intensified and with the workers fighting a mortal battle against war and fascism. The grim unreality of the bleary-eyed clubhouse politician with his derby and cigar assiduously bamboozling workers is comparable only to Nero and his fiddle.

RAND SCHOOL of SOCIAL SCIENCE

FALL TERM BEGINS SEPTEMBER 24

Mondays:

• Development of Capitalism.—Sociology of Primitive Culture.—Literature of Protest.—Trade Unionism.—Great Classics of Western Thought.—Marxian Philosophy.

Tuesdays:

• Class Struggles in American History.—Principles of Socialism.—Banking and the New Order.—Appreciation of Literature.—Sight Singing and Chorus.—Adventures in Music.

Wednesdays:

• History of Socialism.—Psychology and the Individual.—Method in Socialist Education.—Literature Under the Dictatorships.

Thursdays:

• Economic History in the Making.—Social and Political Philosophy.—Social Interpretation of American Literature.

Mondays and Wednesdays:

• Trade Unionism in Theory and Practice.

Tuesdays and Thursdays:

• Introduction to Socialism.

Two Classes in English—Mondays and Wednesdays, or Tuesdays and Thursdays
Two Classes in Russian—Tuesdays

A limited number of Scholarships for the Worker's Training Course available for members of Party, Unions, and Youth Organizations.

REGISTER NOW

7 EAST 15th STREET

Party Members Debate Declaration

Why Help the Enemy?

By Jas. H. Maurer

It is hard to understand the attitude of a few comrades who think the Detroit Declaration is just a matter of war times, with no immediate results. One good comrade of the West, for example, writes, "Let's adopt the thing and then go about our real work."

That would be fine IF the capitalists worked that way. But already here in Reading we see that the bosses are not delaying taking advantage of certain phrases in this Declaration! Already their press and hirelings are using these phrases to defeat our candidates for re-election to the Legislature, and the Congressional candidate we had an honest chance of putting over.

Of such consequence is this to our local movement that our local comrades, including the militants who supported the Declaration at the Detroit convention, used all their influence to prevent even a discussion of it at the recent Pennsylvania State Convention held here in Reading, because of the use the capitalist politicians would make of it to create fear and prejudice, and make more difficult the educational work we have been engaged in for years.

If this Declaration can work damage to us here in Reading with the truly wonderful working class movement we have built up by thirty years of steady plugging and sacrifice, what about the rest of the country? What about the isolated comrades in the smaller towns? What about our comrades on the picket lines? What about our comrades living in states like Oregon, California, where mere membership in the party means ten

years in prison if this Declaration be adopted?

My intimate knowledge of the United States, and our movement, obtained by many years as organizer for the Socialist and Labor organizations; by years as member of the S. P. National Executive and, finally, my two campaigns for Vice-Pres. with Norman Thomas, make me know only too well the answer to those questions, and that the Detroit Declaration spells disaster to us on both the political and economic battle fields.

Let's vote it down! Real militants are too smart to put a sword in the hand of their enemies!

WHY THIS SUPPLEMENT?

THE NEW LEADER Board has decided to issue this supplement for a further discussion of the Detroit Declaration of Principles and related party questions. Despite the fact that The New Leader has been the only Socialist Party weekly that for more than ten years has served as a forum for the discussion of party problems, since it abandoned the discussion several weeks ago there have been accusations that it has suppressed communications, that it has been unfair, etc.

We cannot hope to satisfy everybody. Others have urged that we abandon discussions. This we did only to meet with complaints from others. Considering this situation, we have decided to print four pages that go only to party members and subscribers. The four pages will not be included in bundle orders for general distribution. The propaganda value of the paper is thus maintained without mixing the controversial material with other material. Subscribers who want to pass the paper on to others may remove these pages. With this issue the entire debate is closed.—EDITOR.

For Peace and Harmony Defeat the Declaration

By Julius Gerber

I have refrained from participating in the discussion on the Detroit Declaration because of an inborn belief that party officials should not take part in factional disputes.

But when the recognized leaders of our party not only take part in the discussion but attend small factional meetings, give impetus to anything and everything in the campaign for the Declaration, when party officials, paid and unpaid, become the active managers of the campaign for the Declaration, when Comrade Thomas permits himself to appear to speak at three meetings called by a faction of the party where only one side is being heard, I consider that virtue becomes a vice and I want to say a few words as to why the Detroit Declaration should be defeated—and it should be defeated in the interest of peace and harmony in the party.

If the Declaration is adopted it will make for continuous strife and the party will have no peace.

The reasons are as follows: THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE N. E. C. FAVOR THE UNITED FRONT WITH THE COMMUNISTS. The adoption of the Declaration will be construed by them as an endorsement of this policy, and since the question of the United Front will come up at their next meeting they will most likely reaffirm their decision for it.

This will again open up discussion in the party, motions for a referendum vote will be initiated, discussion and strife will be rampant, caucuses and campaigns for votes will be the order of the day, and instead of doing our day by day work to build our party, extend its usefulness and activity, we will be busy fighting each other.

United Front with the Communists will alienate organized labor from us and our party will be ostracized as the Communists are. Our members in the labor unions will be made ineffectual. They will either be silenced or driven out and our party will become as sterile as the S. L. P.

But in the process of sterilization there will be strife and chaos in our party.

The N. E. C. with a tendency of centralizing all power in the N. E. C. will make for more disagreement and dissension.

A vote for the Declaration will be considered by them as an endorsement and they will most likely follow this policy.

The defeat of the Declaration, however, will and should have a sobering effect on them. They will see that the membership cannot be fooled by empty phrases. They will not dare adopt a United Front policy with the Communists. They will not arrogate to themselves powers not granted by the constitution. They will have to assume a policy toward organized labor in line with the attitude of the members. Instead of some members lying awake at night trying to figure out how to discipline this or that local, this or the other state, they may think HOW BEST TO CARRY ON OUR PROPAGANDA, EXTEND THE ORGANIZATION, MAKE OUR PARTY USEFUL IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORGANIZED WORKERS FOR LIVING CONDITIONS.

Comrades, American labor is on the march. We have our chance to become part of the organized labor movement. Let us not frustrate it

A Delegate's Opinion

By Paul S. McCormick

As a delegate to the National Convention, I wish to state my reasons for supporting the proposed Declaration of Principles.

If a revolutionary party's program for action is to be effective, it must be based on realities. Revisionism, gradualism, and reformism, however plausible they appear on paper or in discussion, have proved their inadequacy as instruments for bringing about Socialism. They do not fit the facts. Based upon critical study of the collapse of certain European movements, the Declaration represents an advanced step in formulation of a program whereby Socialism in the future will be able to meet possible contingencies without repeating the mistakes of the past. Theory, however far removed it may seem from the actual problems of the moment, has the power to make or break a radical movement. The debacle of Central Europe was in part caused by the writings of two and three decades ago. Over those countries today the Red Flag would be flying if their Socialist parties had adopted and adhered to a declaration like that now before our party membership.

My other reason for supporting the measure is that I believe its adoption good tactics. Unless it is accepted by the party, it is doubtful whether at least three state organizations in the West will be

by a few "revolutionary" sounding phrases.

As an official of the party I know the havoc the present controversy has created in our ranks.

What our party needs now is tolerance among our own membership, understanding of and for the struggle of the workers. We must be patient. We cannot cram our ideas and philosophy down their throats. (Continued on Page Four)

A Yipsel View

By Abraham Dobkin

FOR the first time since the St. Louis Declaration, we can be honest with the workers and answer any question without beating around the bush.

Let us compare the two Declarations, side by side, and see which of them appeals to the practical American mind.

Both indict capitalism in the same spirit; each gives a clear picture of the reasons for economic misery, for war and for the necessity of trade unions. Both stress the need for a political party of the workers, and for organization along economic and cooperative lines.

But the 1924 Declaration, which was reaffirmed in 1932, does not mention fascism, when that element was already so ripe in Germany. Even in 1924, the Socialists here were watching with concern and dismay the events in Italy and the rising tide of fascism there. However, at that time we were all of the opinion that it was purely a local matter and could not possibly spread. We have learned differently. But why did not our 1932 Declaration add its opposition to fascism instead of sliding over the 1934 document?

In 1934, ten years later, fascism had triumphed in Germany and in Austria, and we watched it growing in America. So, in line with a true revolutionary policy, to combat all the forms of capitalist intransigence, we said: "It (the Socialist Party) will do all in its power to fight fascism of every kind all the time and everywhere in the world, until fascism is dead. . . . Its methods may include a recourse to the general strike, which will not merely serve as a defense against fascist counter-revolution but will carry the revolutionary struggle into the camp of the enemy."

What could be more logical? Any military strategist, yes, Lenin, who successfully carried out the coup d'état of Communism in Russia, will tell you that the best defense is an offense. To carry the struggle into the camp of the enemy is what we have long neglected to do. I maintain, that at the time we are strong enough to carry through a successful

able to hold their members. When it becomes an official document of the party, those comrades carrying on organization work will have the means of meeting squarely the argument frequently advanced by prospective members, that the Socialist Party in America, even though it achieves power, will go the way of German Social Democracy.

I believe that we have no right to call ourselves Socialists if we hesitate to openly take a stand on war like that expressed in the declaration, whether or not in doing so we are acting legally or illegally; that "bogus" is about the best word one can find to describe our present bourgeois democracy, even granting that it is a valuable weapon in the hands of the workers; and that as Socialists we can do no less than setting up a workers' rule and maintaining it in case of the collapse and ensuing confusion and chaos of the capitalist system.

Denver, Colo.

general strike for a period of twenty-four hours, we will be strong enough to turn that general strike into a revolution, without waiting for a ballot referendum of the people of the United States. That strike will be, in effect, a carte blanche to the Socialist Party to go ahead with the revolution in and for the interests of the general striking proletariat.

"The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism and war." Then the Cleveland statement goes on to tell how wars come about, and the results of such catastrophes. It is a good Socialist position. The Detroit document, however, carries the first step of 1934 to its logical conclusion. "It proposes to eradicate the perpetual economic warfare of capitalism, the fruit of which is international conflict . . . they will refuse collectively to sanction or support any international war; they will, on the contrary . . . do their best . . . to break up the war . . ." and then they say how they will do it. What can be unsocialistic about a statement like that? It does not, as its critics have claimed, give free play to individuals within the party. The Socialist Party is a disciplined organization, and the framers, I hope, had that in mind when they wrote as they did. These critics seem to forget this fact, and its cousin, that when in a disciplined organization discipline is broken, the member responsible for the breach is no longer a member of the group.

"The Socialist Party seeks to attain its ends by orderly methods, and depends upon education and organization of the masses." This from the 1924 paper.

From the last paper comes: "The Socialist Party proclaims anew its faith in economic and political democracy, but it unhesitatingly applies itself to the task of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalistic parliamentarianism by a genuine workers' democracy. . . . If the capitalist system should collapse in . . . chaos . . . which cannot permit of orderly procedure . . . the Socialist Party will not shrink from . . . organizing . . . a government under the workers' rule."

Even in 1924 we had the prelude to this second statement in the word "seeks," which was as indefinite as the critics of the last quoted paragraph claim it to be. The word "seeks" was the only one which gave our comrades a right to say, publicly, that the Socialist Party would make the revolution by "evolution if possible, by revolution if necessary," peaceably if possible, through violence if necessary, "by ballots if possible, by bullets if necessary." And that is what I mean when I refer above to an "honest" approach. No longer need we tell the masses that it will come democratically, and not tell them that the capitalist will take away their democratic rights when he thinks it necessary to his well-being. Now we can honestly point out the ways of fascism and tell the worker that the path of revolution is not an easy one, as we have long known it was not.

We have abandoned no revolutionary principles. We have only furthered and strengthened them, and, at the same time, furthered and strengthened our possibilities of approaching the masses.

See Good and Evil in Declaration

United Front Maneuvers

By James Oneal

AT the meeting of party members in New York City after the Detroit convention where our delegates reported I said that the real issue in the party, a sentimental and even unconscious drift towards Communism, would later emerge. It has emerged sooner than I expected. It is before the party members now and the Detroit Declaration is only the occasion for its emergence.

At Detroit there was a long letter from the Communist Party asking for a united front. Last June the C. P. wrote the N.E.C. for a united front. At the recent N.E.C. meeting in Milwaukee that body voted 7 to 4 to confer with Bob Minor and two other Communists and elected three members to open negotiations. Later, the negotiations were postponed to the next meeting of the N.E.C. And this after Madison Square Garden!

In the letter to the Detroit convention the C.P. used the usual infamous lingo against the Socialist Party and our sister parties abroad, even to traducing the Austrian party and its leaders and declaring that the German party had refused a "united fight" against Hitler. It is notorious that the German Communists by their frequent cooperation with the Hitlerites helped in playing the role of hangman of the whole German proletariat.

Despite this insulting letter, we are to consider negotiations. Minor lied to the N.E.C. in saying that the united front has never been a maneuver and yet we are expected to get a pact of good faith from one who lied on this and other matters!

The negotiations, if resumed, will go to the extent of trying to draw in the Lovestoneites, Trotskyites and Musteltes. The excuse for this is the French agreement between Socialists and Communists, but while this pact has been reached the Communists are playing the same role of denouncing us as "social fascists" in England and in the nations on the Continent, a glaring fact which Minor also denied.

The exceptional conditions in the United States make this effort at a united front by the N.E.C. an extraordinarily inept performance. Ours is the one country in the world where there is still no intimate general cooperation and understanding with the organized working class. Moreover, this step is taken at a time when the trade unions have declared war upon the Communists as their enemy and for us to seek cooperation with the Communists can only be interpreted as making the declared enemies of the unions our friends! To repeat, the issue has emerged sooner in the party than many of us had expected.

Still another consideration. Not more than a tenth of the party members are even interested in a united front with the Communists. The future of the party lies not in a united front with Communist sects but with the millions of organized workers and working farmers of the nation.

Other aspects of the inner-party situation is the Revolutionary Policy Committee organized as a group in the party. I have compared the Left Wing Program of 1919 with the R. P. C. program in 1934. The first program produced two Communist parties. Each is alike in basic essentials. Does this have any significance for party members who are toying with Com-

munist tendencies?

The R. P. C. criticizes the Detroit Declaration but supports it as the nearest to its Communist views and also, as it states in a pamphlet, because it will help it to gain "organizational control" of the Socialist Party. Does that mean anything to party members?

If not, perhaps the following will. The R. P. C. is an organized Communist group in the British Independent Labor Party. This party is today a wreck. It had about 60,000 members two years ago; since then it has suffered several splits and is now reduced to a skeleton with Communism, like a vulture, picking its bones.

The R. P. C. is Lovestone Communism. It is regarded as its child by Lovestone's paper, "Worker's Age." In the issue of July 5, it refers to "our activities among and relations with Socialist Party members." In the issue of June 15, it carries a long article on the activities of the R. P. C. in the British I.L.P. That article declares that the only difference between the Communist International and the R. P. C. is the latter's "criticism of tactics." Sure. The only difference Trotsky and Lovestone Communism has with the Communist International is tactics.

Now comes one party local which uses the R. P. C. program as a basis for a referendum and adds armed insurrection to it!

We drove Communism out of the front door in 1919; it enters through the window in 1934!

"We dare not risk confusion in our ranks," says the statement on the referendum ballot in favor of the Detroit Declaration. True, but confusion and illusion are rife as a result of pseudo-Communism and negotiations for a working alliance with Communism for a year or two.

In Wisconsin, where our comrades have a real united front with the trade unions and the working farmers, there is the prospect of a greater movement of the toiling masses bound in a powerful working alliance for common aims. The unions and the farmer organizations are uncompromisingly opposed to all Communist organizations. The Milk Pool, a powerful farmer organization, will not permit any Communist to be a member.

The future of the Wisconsin party would be jeopardized by any united front with Communism in any form. The same is true in other states. The party has had enough to contend with in the LaFollette movement in Wisconsin for years and now that there is much disillusionment with LaFollette, only negotiations with Communist organizations will raise another barrier to the real organized masses of the state. Wisconsin comrades expressed their apprehensions to me regarding such negotiations and they feel that the whole future of their movement is imperilled by them.

Some comrades declare that we cannot make headway in the colleges unless the strife between Socialists and Communists is ended. I would rather enlist five workers in the party than ten college men. Moreover, the collegiate who are confused over the basic differences between Socialism and Communism will only bring their confusion into the party if a pact is written with the Communists.

If the price of an agreement is more confusion, who wants it?

We have no prejudice against collegiates and intellectuals, but too often they come to teach instead of to learn. They have to learn just as workers do. The class interests of workers tend to guide them to basic Socialist conceptions and it still remains true that the Socialist movement is primarily a movement of the working class.

Limitations of space prevent a fuller consideration of the issue that is emerging in the party. I have no desire to charge ulterior motives, but he who cannot observe trends toward a futile and dangerous course shuts his eyes to the facts mentioned above.

Oneal's "Ideology" and "Liberal Scholars"

WHEREAS, Comrade James Oneal, Editor of The New Leader, official organ of the Socialist Party of America, has written disparagingly of the National Convention of the party, held recently in Detroit; and

WHEREAS, Comrade Oneal, a prominent member of the Right Wing and an advocate of Social-Democratic tactics which have so tragically failed in Europe, has in the bitterness of defeat referred to the Detroit Declaration of Principles and its supporters in an uncomradely and vindictive spirit, specifically in an article entitled "A View of the Declaration of Principles Adopted at Detroit," published in The New Leader of June 9, 1934; and

WHEREAS, we believe Comrade Oneal's characterization of the Detroit Convention as disorderly and hopelessly divided to be a gross misrepresentation and an ill-advised attack on the sincerity of purpose of the majority group; and

WHEREAS, The New Leader, under the editorship of Comrade Oneal, has consistently and bitterly fought the Left Wing groups and their programs, pursued a policy of Communist-baiting, and misrepresented and slandered the heroic efforts of the Russian masses to build a Socialist State, unmindful of the fact that distinguished liberal scholars, writers, and correspondents have praised the Socialist construction in the Soviet Union; and

WHEREAS, The New Leader has in general represented an ideology considerably less advanced than that prevalent among non-Communist radicals outside the Socialist Party;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by Local Phoenix of the Socialist Party of America that this organization go on record as condemning the article entitled "A View of the Declaration of Principles Adopted at Detroit," written by James Oneal and published in The New Leader of June 9, 1934; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we express our opposition to the editorial policy of The New Leader and recommend that its policy be oriented to conform with the ideology of the overwhelming majority of American Socialists as represented by the program adopted at Detroit; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be sent to Comrade James Oneal, editor of The New Leader; Comrade Clarence Senior, National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, and Comrade Leo Krzycki, chairman of the National Executive Committee.

Local Phoenix, Ariz.

A New Reorientation

By Leo Somlo

As a Marxian student I feel pledged to support the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Detroit convention.

Objective conditions which are in constant process of change do not permit a Marxian Socialist to declare for unchanged interpretations of principles, programs and methods of the class struggle. On the contrary, steady reorientation towards changed conditions and realities is absolutely essential if we pretend to be a Marxian Socialist Party.

Post-war economic and political changes as well as all the great events of the class-struggles here and abroad must find their expressions in new party programs and Declarations of Principles. (Ostrich-methods must be necessarily excluded from the life of the Socialists' organism.)

The very existence of "Leftist" sentiment here and abroad is a proof of a changing world and a changing reorientation towards the changed objective conditions (material and mental) of the class-struggle.

Our new Declaration of Principles was supposed to express our reorientation toward a disintegrating system of society which constantly and ever menacingly breeds war dangers, and just as deadly fascist-terrorism in order to prolong its incurably sick life. And these all at the cost of long established bourgeois democracy, including all the civil liberties, labor rights and standards that were won by the working class through centuries!

We have seen several nations "going wild" and getting rid of their democracies. And the line of these nations has not reached its end yet. Is it a wonder that after the bloody suppression of Italian, German, Austrian and other smaller democracies, and with them the labor and Socialist movements, drives and inspires a large part of the class-conscious proletariat toward a new orientation; into a state of mind, inclined to reevaluate all the long accepted methods of class-struggle and the appraisal of bourgeois democracy, gradualism and pure reformism which have become as hopeless as capitalism itself.

Otherwise, if I am permitted so to remark, any Socialist Party which has almost completely swallowed the notorious 21 points of the Third International, and any which were members of the Vienna working groups of Socialist parties, cannot be surprised at such a moderately "left" Declaration as that of the Detroit convention. On the other hand, things might have been better expressed in our new

No Fundamentalist

Rev. Ward H. Rodgers

We in the Southwest fail to understand the sense of or reasons for the present disturbance in the East over the new Declaration of Principles. When such peaceful souls as Devere Allen and Kirby Page so energetically support and interpret the Declaration, how can it be called "communistic, illegal, and anarchistic"? Is our present debate purely a matter of personalities? We think so!

We are for the Declaration because it clarifies our policies on certain definite issues, we now know where we stand in case of war, fascism, or chaos. Let us now get the much needed votes and "our labor solidarity."

The Southwest is not interested (Continued on Page Four)

Declaration of Principles. But all in all, it is a Socialist document. (Is there any Socialist program or declaration adopted at various Socialist convention, which has escaped severe criticism by one faction or the other?)

Some of the sections of our new Declaration are branded as "communistic" and "anarchistic" by some of its opponents. To prove it, they use divergent interpretations of the meaning of these paragraphs. In good Socialist faith I can't accept these interpretations, much less then, when its authors declare that to their best knowledge they have meant only organized and established Socialist procedures. (See the paragraph about war-resistance.)

The critics of the new Declaration of Principles also vehemently attack the expression of "bogus" democracy and the statement about "workers' democracy." The war against the first one is already so much overdone that the energies wasted upon it are ridiculously out of any balance. But "what's behind it?" I believe that the paragraph about "workers' democracy" is what's worrying the opponents. I can't participate in the worries of so many honest "preservers" in the face of the following paragraphs of the Declaration.

"The Socialist Party proclaims anew its faith in economic and political democracy, but it unhesitatingly applies itself to the task of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism by a genuine workers democracy." . . . But "in its struggle for a new society, the Socialist Party seeks to attain its objective by peaceful and orderly means" . . . and "if it can be superseded by majority vote the Socialist Party will rejoice." . . .

This is certainly the democratic-socialist way of thinking and I fail to recognize in this any "communistic" or "anarchistic" tendencies. From Marx and Engels to Kautsky and Hillquit, we all have repeatedly expressed this thought and intention. Why so much fuss now? Tactical considerations? We all, always wanted social-democracy in contrast to capitalist-political-democracy. And social democracy is "genuine democracy." But there are some phases of bourgeois democracy in which the working class is greatly interested; the freedom of its organizations and the civil liberties that enable them to organize, educate and prepare their members for the everyday struggle as well as that of the final one. Has the new Declaration abandoned this? By no means:—"It will do all in its power to fight fascism of every kind all the time, and everywhere in the world, until fascism is dead." (With reference to "workers democracy" I would like to recommend that critics read an article from Karl Kautsky in "Der Kampf," Aug. 1921, to be convinced that "workers democracy" is Socialist democracy.)

Lack of space does not allow for extended argumentation. As a foreign-born Socialist I am somewhat handicapped in the judgment of the practicability of this Declaration of Principles. But, American-born comrades, leaders of our movement, like Norman Thomas, Leo Krzycki, Powers Hapgood, Maynard Krueger, Devere Allen, James Graham, Daniel W. Hoan and other comrades who certainly know better than I whether this document is a good and practical American Socialist document, claim it is. I shall modestly follow their leadership and vote for the referendum.

New York City

Members Debate Pro and Con

From a Veteran

By Elizabeth Thomas

Elizabeth Thomas has for many years been associated with the Milwaukee Leader and helped to keep it alive in the days of the World War when the government deprived it of its mailing privileges. She is a devoted Socialist and has contributed much through the Milwaukee Leader to building the Milwaukee Socialist movement.

Comrade Norman Thomas, with his fine training as a minister, cannot have the same insight of the working man's psychology that Comrade James Maurer possesses, after the rough and tumble life of a wage worker and an organizer of unions and the close and intimate contact with the workers which such a life entails.

Not that the "intellectuals" are less valuable in our movement than the common workers, but their psychology is not the same.

Comrade Maurer, with his years of working class experience, assures us that "the Detroit Declaration spells disaster to us on both the political and economic battlefields," if adopted, that it may defeat the election of a Socialist congressman in Reading, Pa., where the Socialists have a good chance this fall, and also do much damage in Oregon, California and throughout the country. This he says from his large experience of the working class, both in the party and the unions.

Of course, some may say, "never mind the results! Let us set forth our principles and educate the working class up to them! Let us tell the truth if the sky falls!"

Good—that is the right spirit. But the Detroit Declaration does not tell the truth, as Socialists see it. It reads much more like a Communist document.

There is no need of two Communist parties. If we want a revolution, instead of constructive Socialism, let us join the organization which prefers that method of bringing in the new order.

Wisconsin Socialists have never taken that attitude. We have always tried to bring Socialism through the means already at hand, through the ballot box and representative government. For that method we have contended in the past, when many comrades in other states preferred the short but blood-stained cut.

It can't be done, do you say? Well, it has never been tried. But while there are not enough Americans who are willing just to drop their ballots for Socialism, we certainly have not enough heroes who are willing to lay down their lives to establish it.

We Milwaukee comrades know that simply electing some Socialist officials has made a great difference in our city. Why did the Milwaukee electrical strikers win without riots and bloodshed, while in so many other cities workers were shot down and besides often lost their strikes?

Democracy is not a humbug. Even the small degree which we now enjoy is a great safeguard to the workers in all their struggles. Would you rather live under the Hitler regime? Today all such arguments simply play into the hands of the plutocrats who are trying to establish a dictatorship in America.

Our Declaration of Principles should have contained first of all a brief and simple explanation of the Socialist system. Many thousands of people are now for the first time asking, "What is this Socialism?" They will read our Declaration of Principles in order to find this out. Unfortunately, they

will discover that it does not contain any definite explanation.

The Declaration should also give our immediate demands for relief of the present situation. What just now most interests the working man is how he can feed and clothe his wife and children and keep a roof over their heads during the coming winter.

The Declaration does not touch these prosy matters, but does give a very fine example of well written rhetoric.

If it is voted down, we shall not be left without a platform, as has been claimed. We shall have as a statement of our principles our clear and excellent platform of 1932.

Remember, if we adopt the Detroit Declaration we shall simply furnish ammunition to our enemies who are trying to incite the voters against the "Socialists and Communists," as if we were all one crowd.

How can we explain the difference between us and the Communists if we indorse the Detroit Declaration?

"THE UNITED STUNT"

By Matthew Smith

General Secretary, Mechanics Educational Society of America, with headquarters at Detroit

The Detroit Declaration of Principles is an admission that Socialists have lost faith in their capacity to convert the citizens of the U. S. to Socialism.

Many a time in the calm watches of the night have I conjured up visions of my Utopia. This future state changes with the years, BUT IT IS ALWAYS POPULATED. If only half the reports of the improvements in the weapons of destruction is true, then there is scarcely any guarantee that there'll be any survivors after the militants' blood bath.

The Socialist Party is in the position of a distracted, frustrated teacher whose pupils fail to absorb his teachings. The teacher, in desperation caused by his own inability to transmit knowledge, then goes berserk, and wants to kill all the poor students.

Of course, the REAL reason for the unreason of the Declaration is that the Communists have the Socialists rattled. The Communist Party is a bad tempered child crying and stamping its feet because of an intense feeling of futility. This unseemly performance is apt to fray the temper of the onlooking populace.

LET'S A FEW OF US KEEP COOL UNTIL THE FEVER PASSES, and all will be well. LET US NOT FALL FOR THIS NONSENSE OF THE "UNITED STUNT."

The Communist Party is the normal expression of the "industrially inefficient," who, of course, suffer more than any one else during a depression. Competition under the present ghastly economic bedlam, mislabeled a "system," puts these people in the bread line, and keeps them there. Naturally, a man goaded by a sense of injustice at being denied access to the tools of production is guided by instinct, AND INTELLECT TAKES A BACK SEAT.

OUT OF THE PAST

By Emerich Steinberger

The supporters of the Declaration constantly cite from Hillquit, from Debs, from the St. Louis Resolution without really giving the true facts.

Gene Debs, in his address to the jury when he was tried for sedition, said this:

"You have heard a great deal about the St. Louis platform. I wasn't at the convention when the platform was adopted but I don't ask to be excused for my responsibility on that account. I voted for its adoption, I believed in its essential principles. There were some of its phrasing that I would have otherwise. I afterwards advocated a re-statement. The testimony to the effect that I had refused to repudiate it was true."

At the time that platform was adopted the nation had just entered upon the war and there were millions of people who were not Socialists who were opposed to the United States being precipitated into that war. Time passed; conditions changed. There were certain new developments—and I believed there should be a re-statement."

It is significant that Morris Hillquit in his "Loose Leaves From A Busy Life" practically says the same thing that Gene Debs did in his Canton speech. Morris Hillquit believed that some of the phrasing was unfortunate and therefore un-called for.

No Socialist would repudiate the St. Louis resolution. In Oklahoma, where we had a membership of over 6,000, at that time some interpreted the resolution so that they took guns and went into the hills. That was the beginning of the end of the Oklahoma movement. In a short period of time we lost our organization and we have never been able to recover since.

The vote on the Detroit Declaration of Principles must be on itself, not upon words that are put into the mouths of those whose lips are sealed; but if we are to go back to what Debs said and what Hillquit said and the expressions that they used, let us quote them truthfully.

The Liberals

By Max H. Frankle

On page 31 of The Nation of July 11, commenting editorially about our recent State Convention, this liberal publication writes: "The convention adjourned after passing a resolution emasculating the 'left' phraseology of the Detroit Declaration of Principles. Paraphrasing Lenin, what the Socialist Party seems to be suffering from is 'infantile rightism,' the focus of the infection being New York and the Jewish Daily Forward."

On page 25 of this same issue, Oswald Garrison Villard writes on "Upton Sinclair Startles California." From the pen of the publisher of The Nation: "Of these facts, the most interesting is that Sinclair is making such a bid for the governorship upon the Democratic ticket. It shows again, in my judgment, that there is no hope for the Socialist Party in the United States. Upton Sinclair can offer the same on the Democratic ticket and have a market for his wares. He would not be listened to under the Socialist flag."

I quote these two paragraphs for the benefit of Socialist Party members who are not yet aware that liberals generally have a soft

Crosswaith in Favor

By Frank R. Crosswaith

I VOTED for the Declaration of Principles not because I am an irresponsible and treacherous hot-head with Anarcho-Communist tendencies, but because I sincerely believe that the Declaration is expressive of a true Socialist position. And, too, because it takes into account the changing conditions of our time and is indicative of the fact that American Socialists have not neglected to learn a much needed lesson from the tragic experience of our European comrades.

Most of the early opposition to the Declaration was based upon, firstly, its so-called illegality; secondly, its alleged departure from the path of democracy; and, thirdly, its advocacy of dictatorship. Now, however, note Comrade Penken in The New Leader of June 23, saying: "I don't oppose it so much because it might bring the party and its membership into conflict with the law. I oppose it because it is not Socialistic..." If I were inclined to quibble over mere words (blessed words, as Comrade Oneal aptly calls them) I would reply that Comrade Penken is correct. There is a difference between being "Socialistic" and being Socialist. I much prefer the latter than the former. Some tendencies in the Roosevelt administration may be called "Socialistic," but no trained Socialist would mistake those tendencies for genuine Socialism.

Evidently Comrade Penken has had the time and the necessary freedom from interference since the convention to read again the Declaration of Principles and has discovered that it says: "In its struggle for a new society the Socialist Party seeks to attain its objectives by peaceful and orderly means." And again: "The Socialist Party proclaims anew its faith in economic and political democracy."

spot for "leftist" phraseology while at the same time they are not ready to go as far left as the Socialist Party. It proves once more that non-Socialist liberals find it easiest to cheer "leftist" declarations while they team up harmoniously with capitalist forces on the one hand and Communists on the other. The Nation is that kind of liberal publication... where a Socialist, a Democrat and a Communist have worked on its editorial staff.

The above quotation alone would not prove my contention, but over a number of years, when The Nation and other liberal journals took occasion to report Socialist Party news, they have always supported the "left" position and given space exclusively to that point of view.

New York City

Averting Fascist Danger

By Alfred Baker Lewis

I have read Comrade Solomon's "Crisis in the Socialist Party" and find that the argument against the Declaration of Principles that it keeps repeating is that we do not have the power to put any such program into effect now. This, of course, is true. But the fact which he completely overlooks is that we can't get more power unless we tell people what we intend to do with it when we get it.

Everyone who is carrying on propaganda before non-Socialist audiences gets questioned continually on what the Socialist Party would do in case of war or an attempt to set up a Fascist coup. The reason why the Declaration is supported by so many of our active

Is this not the historic Socialist position?

With our feet firmly planted upon this position, the Declaration proceeds with admirable courage toward the realities of contemporary capitalist conduct. It takes into consideration the cruel fate meted out to our comrades in every capitalist-cursed country, wherever and whenever the workers have come within measurable distance of power.

The Declaration takes cognizance of the fate of the Social Democracies of Italy, Germany and Austria and declares what American Socialists will do if and when we, like our European comrades, face a similar situation.

In spite of all that has been said and written against the Declaration, I still think it adequately states in substance what should be our position in the premise. Some of its language could stand revision, as I stated in my brief address before the convention. Thanks, however, to the minority in the convention who were opposed to everything that did not come directly from them, those of us who desired to change the form while keeping the substance of the Declaration were denied this opportunity. The reason for this unusual Socialist procedure is now obvious to all, I am sure.

Lastly, permit me to state that I am neither a right, a left, a Communist nor an Anarchist. I am a Socialist. All of my years in the Socialist Party I have consciously steered clear of all internal, partisan politics, and I propose to continue my activities in the party, unhampered by the label of any special group. My loyalty first, last and all the time is to Socialism, and that's why I support the Declaration and urge its acceptance.

New York City.

propagandists is because it gives a clear-cut line of action for us to follow, as soon as we grow stronger, in opposing war or an attempt by the capitalist class to shut off such democratic rights as we now possess.

Before we control the Government, we will have the support of twenty, thirty, or forty per cent of the population. That is the time when Fascism must be feared. At that stage of growth, the Socialist parties in several countries in Europe failed to stop Fascism. Unless we ask people to support a policy which past events show is likely to be ineffective, we have to have now an announced policy for fending off the evils which are likely to come upon us in time to come as we grow stronger.

That that policy should be based on the use of the general strike against war and fascism seems perfectly sound. A general strike was threatened successfully by the British Labor Party and trade unions against Lloyd George's proposed war on Russia in 1920. It was used with success by the Germans against the Kapp Putsch. It was threatened with success recently in Milwaukee and Toledo to compel employers to establish collective bargaining. It is reasonable to hope that as the Socialist Party grows stronger, we can use it with success for distinctly Socialist objectives such as opposing war and fascism. It is also natural to suppose that we will be helped to grow by the announcement that we have thought out our program sufficiently far ahead to have a plan for meeting perils which are not likely to come upon us tomorrow.

Boston, Mass.

Socialists Present Views on Declaration

A "Sound Document"

By Loren Norman

The new Declaration of Principles is sound. Under the circumstances it is the least that could be said. To follow a line any less militant would be to deceive the workers and court disaster, as the history of all liberal, reformist parties plainly shows.

I am a new party member. I have read The New Leader off and on for several years, have voted Socialist but have not been an active party member. I joined BECAUSE of the Declaration of Principles. It revealed in the party an awareness, a vitality, a willingness to shift policies to meet shifting conditions that I had been unable previously to discern. Not only myself, but many others, feel this way; in fact, a newly formed local in my home town comes as a direct result of the new Declaration. Others in this section of the country will follow, as we can face the workers now with a program that is at least Socialist, and not revisionist.

The time for half-way measures,

for trades, dickering, solely parliamentarism, is past. The time for ORGANIZING is here. Labeling the Declaration as "communist" or "anarchistic" is just the same as the Tories labeling the New Deal "socialistic"; it just isn't so. The German and Austrian comrades have told us what conciliation did for them. Yet many party members, blinding themselves to the realities of the situation, actually advocate following the self-same policies—to perdition. Let us not place this thing called democracy before our socialism; we have never had democracy in this country, so why make a fetish of it? If we are satisfied with this sham democracy, which represents merely a certain stage in capitalistic development, then we are not Socialists; the Democrats and Republicans are satisfied with it too. If we want an entirely new deal for the workers, we must stand for downright socialism; and the Declaration of Principles is to my mind the minimum statement of a Socialist position.

Marion, Ill.

HOW SHALL WE VOTE?

By Jean Da Costa

To "resist war by all available means" and to pledge ourselves to a workers' dictatorship means eventually civil war. I consider such a prospect both deplorable and not inevitable, and I believe a short-sighted policy is dictating the militant tactics that would bring it about.

The loss of life and property that will ensue in the event of a revolution by force is negligible, the militants say, as compared with the violence that is being carried on now—violence in its most extreme form which condemns little children to grow up with weak bodies and untrained minds and many thousands of workers to go undernourished and even to face starvation. A quick, terroristic campaign to put an end to this permanent state of violence, they maintain, would achieve less violence in the end.

Now, as a political party organized for the purpose of putting a stop to exploitation, it is obviously the business of Socialists to root out violence, if they can. But to try to do it as our militant members recommend by the simple, if death-bringing, remedy of a *coup d'etat* would not obviate the evil, because violence, whether of exploitation or of any other evil, is not something that can be measured and cancelled off against more violence like figures on a ledger.

No Fundamentalist

(Continued from Page Two)

in a "Boston Forum" or even a "New York Debating Society" if the Socialist Party continues to perform these functions in order to "educate, agitate, and organize" the farmers and workers then we in the Southwest will find other agencies to gain economic justice through. Shall we build a party or continue an already extended debate?

We have an excellent opportunity to gain power this fall will we sacrifice this opportunity in order to "purify" with the bigotry of a Southern Baptist fanatical fundamentalist?

We will vote for a movement, in the referendum, are you voting for just a sect? Let us build for Socialism.

R. F. D. Pumpkin Center,
Subiaco, Ark.

DIVERGENT OPINIONS

By John H. Bates

Heated and divergent opinions regarding the Detroit Declaration of Principles have been rather confusing. Some of our comrades have manifested a panicky spirit which has not contributed to reasoned opinion or a conciliatory policy. The substitute proposal, as published in the July 14 issue of The New Leader, is, however, a constructive alternative to the original which will, I believe, go over big if presented to the rank and file membership of the party.

This substitute proposal clears up several ambiguities which appeared in the original. To speak of "limited democracy" rather than "bogus democracy" is surely a distinct improvement. The phrase, "limited democracy," speaks more nearly what we mean and it cannot be used as a catch phrase by our enemies to unnecessarily discredit us.

The final phrase of the substitute form referring to a "government of the producing masses" is also a worthwhile clarification. "Workers' rule" or dictatorship of the proletariat are both technically inexact. An emergency government, such as the text refers to, must of necessity include a wide range of producers not ordinarily considered proletarians or workers in a strict Marxian sense. If the original text must be retained, then let us call a spade a spade and change the phrase, "under the workers' rule," to read "under a Socialist Party dictatorship."

The proposed revision of the Detroit Declaration is fine. Let us preserve party unity at all costs.

Milwaukee, Oregon.

Duties in a Crisis

By J. F. Landis

I have read several very able articles pro and con on the new Declaration of Principles. I wish to say that while the Declaration is very explicit and shows a marked degree of a leftward swing which, to my way of thinking, should meet with the approval of all true and loyal Socialists, yet we find some men and women in the movement today who have in the past been great workers in the Socialist Party but who like Upton Sinclair, Spargo, Allen L. Benson and many others in the trying times of 1916 and 1917 are unable to see the real duties that confront our party in such a crisis.

I feel that the Declaration is couched in a very mild form of language when we take into consideration the oppression and misery that our people the "workers" have been forced to undergo, and I feel that had this convention come out with anything short of such a declaration it should have been branded with criminal negligence.

If the Socialist Party is to remain the party of the workers it must meet the needs of the workers in a changing world; the fierceness of a battle is measured by the resistance offered and if we offer no resistance we are not in the battle for the abolition of wage slavery and neither have we a right morally or otherwise to hold the Socialist Party up as a workers' political party.

The Declaration is an answer to the challenge of the masters for the right of the workers to live and I am proud that we have the courage to answer such a challenge and I trust that the comrades throughout the whole nation can sing from the very depths of their soul the chorus of the "RED FLAG."

Victor, Colo.

For Peace and Harmony

(Continued from Page One)

throats. DeLeon tried it and see what has become of the S. L. P.

We all want to see our party grow, we all want to see the American labor movement grow in numbers and social understanding. We want the American labor movement to understand us.

There is a need for a united front—not with the Communists, but a united front with the organized workers and farmers of the United States.

Let us not kill the opportunity by internecine strife and actions that will drive us from the family of organized labor.

Preachers and professors, teach-

ers and students, will not bring about the social revolution. If we are true to our protestations that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class, then we must not do anything that will estrange the working class from us. The adoption of the Detroit Declaration with the inevitable policies of the United Front with the Communists, followed by the other policies I enumerated above will drive organized labor from us.

For the sake of the unity of our party, harmony in our ranks, the Detroit Declaration shall and must be defeated. Vote AGAINST the Declaration.

A Wisconsin Veteran

By Carl P. Dietz
Socialist Alderman

Let us consider what the Detroit Declaration of Principles means to the future of ourselves and the Socialist Party.

The Declaration emphatically opposes all wars and ends up with a plan of action which, if carried out, would lead us into terrible civil war.

It declares: "If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, the Socialist Party will step in and organize and maintain a government under the workers' rule."

Suppose we tried that. I ask: By whose authority do we step in? We, who have always preached democracy and the right of the people to determine by their votes what government they will have. We have criticized such assumption of power by Mussolini; and we have always pointed out that the difference between the Communists and the Socialists is the dictatorship assumed by the Communists. We have been against ALL dictatorships as inimicable to true democracy. Yet the Detroit Declaration calls for our assuming power by force; in other words, a dictatorship.

Let's go further. Having assumed the powers of government without the consent of the people (should we be able to do so), we must thereupon maintain our position against the onslaughts of our opponents. (Surely the proponents of the Declaration don't expect this thing to go through without opposition.) And how will we maintain it? Only by force. And where is this force coming from when the capitalist crowd through

their newspapers and their radios begin to yell "Red" and "Bolshevik," and their cohorts and their soldiers and their soldier organizations, with their guns and their other means of annihilation rally in defense?

By "cohorts" I mean the millions upon millions of Americans like the one I met some time ago who declared: "What America needs is a revolution," and I said to him: "My friend, what it needs is Socialism!" And here was his reply: "Socialism! Those darn Socialists should be run out of the country!" And how many Socialists or even Socialist sympathizers are there in comparison?

Has the Socialist Party the arms to enforce its position, and are we ready to confess that democracy is a failure and dictatorship (whether by the proletariat or capitalist) is the only remedy?

How the Communists must get a grim laugh out of our dilemma!

No, comrades, by adopting the Detroit Declaration you simply put your head into the noose of our opponents and you will annihilate the party entirely. Look at Austria, where the comrades had weapons and where we expected to find solidarity among the workers. Yet it was only a few thousand who stood up and made the supreme sacrifice. Look at San Francisco! Where were the masses?

Together with the rest of you, I have been thoroughly disgusted with the slowness of the American people is waking up, but progress is made with brains, not with bullets.

Comrades, to adopt the Declaration of Principles would be a fatal mistake.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Get Your Natural Right From the Liberty League

Hooray! The Liberty League has been founded by high hat politicians, and Jouett Shouse, high mandarin of the Democratic Party, is its prophet.

Jouett wants us to fight for the right to own property and to put away savings. These are "natural rights" that seem right natural to Jouett.

All right, Mr. Shouse. We'll take an inventory of the rent we owe, the trousers that Mabel patched last week, and the savings bank book that was cancelled a year ago. We're strong for property and we'll be happy if Jouett will recover what we lost.

We suggest that before he abandons the search that he investigate some of the big money bags with whom he is associated. He may be able to locate some of our "natural rights" there.

Cost of Living Goes Up, Ballot Same Old Price

Next week will be the anniversary of the blow-up of the Coolidge-Hoover prosperity in the United States. It will also be the fifteenth month in the great epoch of the NRA.

If you have a dollar today, it is the same kind of dollar you had last month and last year, and yet it isn't. It has declined in value. It will bring you less food and clothing and it will pay less rent.

That is, the cost of living now is 3.5 per cent above the cost in 1933, and rent, food, clothing and other essentials are slowly going up. The NRA wizards are worried. So are you. What are you going to do about it?

By the way, the cost of a Socialist vote has not changed. The price is a little caution in voting for yourselves. Do you have the price?

YPSL NOTES

Meeting of all circle organizers Saturday, September 15, at 2:30 p.m., at the Hand School. Meeting of all speakers and educational directors at the same place and date at 4 p.m.

Organization of a new Ypsel circle in Greenwich Village and the Chelsea district is planned within the next few weeks. A group is meeting at the Village headquarters, 201 Sullivan St., on Thursday evenings at present. The YPSL office will assign an organizer to the group within a few days.

A new eight-page pamphlet by Aaron Levenstein, "Not In Your Textbook," is out. It is ideal for use among students in high schools and colleges. Ypsels and party members can purchase them at the City office at three for five cents.

Features of the Week on
(1200 Kc.) WEVD (231 M.)

Reserve Saturday evening, December 8, for the inauguration of the third season of the University of the Air.

Sunday, Sept. 16—11 a. m.—Forward Hour, music and sketches; 2:15 p. m., Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8, Sherry and Stange, songs; 8:15, Chamber Music; 8:45, Sylvia Bagley, soprano; 10, Symposium.

Monday, Sept. 17—8:45 a. m., Folk Singers; 4:15 p. m., Nicholas Sasiavsky, baritone; 5:45, Ann Lopert and the Three Streamlines.

Tuesday, Sept. 18—8 p. m., Talk; 8:15, "Paris in New York," music; 10 p. m., "Social Problems Round Table."

Speakers: Louis Waldman, August Claessens and James O'Neal; 10:45, Rosa Simon, piano; 12, Dance Music.

Wednesday, Sept. 19—8 a. m., Psychology Clinic of the Air—Dr. Jacob List; 8:15 p. m., Actors' Dinner Club—Doris Hardy; 8:45, Metropolitan String Ensemble; 10:30, Eugene Byron Morgan, baritone; 12, Helen Trix, songs.

Thursday, Sept. 20—8 p. m., Talk; 8:15, Margaret Reed Dooley, mezzo-soprano; 8:30, Simon and Arnold, piano duo; 8:45, Foreign Affairs Forum, talk; 10, Edward Peterson, zither; 10:15, "Newspaper Guild on the Air," talks; 10:30, Carlo Lanzilotti, bass; 10:45, Edith Friedman, piano.

Friday, Sept. 21—8:45 a. m., "Voice of Welfare"—Charles Berry; 8:30 p. m., "Three Voices," vocal trio; 8:45, Royal Dutch Travelogue—Hendrik de Leeuw; 10, Negro Welfare; 10:15, Jack Salmon, baritone; 10:30, Sonya Yagin, soprano; 10:45, Bass and Reddall, piano duo.

Saturday, Sept. 22—7:45 p. m., Metropolitan String Ensemble; 8, Sherry and Stange, songs; 8:15, Ann Howard, blues singer; 10:30, Sol Giskin, violin; 10:45, Harriet Ayes, songs.

STREET MEETINGS

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

Bensonhurst Branch, 68th St. and Bay Parkway. Feigenbaum, Mrs. Primoff, Siegel, Sam Levine.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

22nd A. D. Kings. Red night with street meetings throughout district. Branch members and speakers appear on time for assignments.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

125th St. and 7th Ave. Rabinowitz, Lorand, Brown and Walter Forde. 174th St. and Hoe Ave., Bronx. Becker, Weinstein, Heltzer, Marcus. Claremont and Washington Avenues, Bronx. Farber, Stein, Waller, Levenstein.

149th St. and Tinton, Bronx. Bykofsky, Ellentuck, Wilson, Woskow. 163rd St. and Tiffany, Bronx. Panken, Orenstein, S. Levenstein, S. Rosenberg, M. Levenstein (Local 306).

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19

125th St. and Fifth Ave., under the auspices of Finnish Branch. Speakers to be announced.

149th St. and Tinton, Bronx. S. Levenstein, Wilson, A. Levenstein, Ellentuck, 163rd St. and Southern Boulevard, Bronx. Rubin, Willbach, Local 306. 16rd St. and Simpson, Bronx. Rubin, Willbach, Stern, Garfinkel.

Kings Highway and E. 17th St. Wm. Feigenbaum and others.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20

163rd St. and Southern Boulevard, Bronx. M. Levenstein, Stern and others. Wilkins and Intervale, Bronx. Becker, Weinstein, Heltzer, Marcus.

169th St. and Boston Road, Bronx. Ellentuck, Salzman, Cohn, Woskow. 161st St. and Prospect Ave., Bronx. Bykofsky, Panken, S. Rosenberg, Fruchter.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21

125th St. and 7th Ave. Forde, Rabinowitz, Lorand, Brown and Walters. Longwood and Prospect, Bronx. Tulchin, Wilson, Rosenberg, Woskow.

Union and 161st St., Bronx. Kreplak, Wilson.

Crotona and Wilkins, Bronx. Becker, Weinstein, Levenstein, M. Levenstein. 165th St. and Kelly, Bronx. F. Stern, Salzman, I. Salzman, Marcus.

163rd St. and Southern Boulevard, Bronx. Willbach, Orenstein and others. Bensonhurst Branch, 68th St. and Bay Parkway. Feigenbaum and others.

Italian Socialist Federation

The Italian Socialist Federation has placed in the field an able organizer. Branches of the party in districts having Italians who desire to reach these peoples by street meetings or indoor meetings, by one who speaks in their native tongue, can make the necessary arrangement by getting in touch with R. Rotolo, 443 Avenue W, Brooklyn.

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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, New York Joint Board, 31 West 15th St., New York, N. Y. Phone TOMpkins Square 6-5400. L. Hollender, J. Catalano, Managers; Abraham Miller, Secretary-Treasurer.

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CORSET and BRASSIERE WORKERS' UNION, Local 32, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Abraham Snyder, Manager.

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THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. Phone, CHelsea 3-2148. David Dubinsky, President.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA, New York Local No. 1. Offices, Amallthone Bldg., 205 West 14th St., Phone, WAtkins 9-7764. Regular meetings every second and fourth Tuesday at Arlington Hall, 19 St. Mark's Place. Albert E. Castro, President; Patrick J. Hanlon, Vice-President; Frank Sekol, Fin. Secretary; Emil Thenen, Rec. Secretary; Joseph J. O'Connor, Treasurer.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, Local 24, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. Downtown office, 640 Broadway; phone, Spring 7-4548; uptown office, 30 W. 37th St.; phone, WISconsin 7-1270. Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening, 8 o'clock. Manager, N. Spector; Secretary-Treas., Alex. Rose; Organizers, I. H. Goldberg, A. Mendelowitz, M. Goodman, Lucy Oppenheim; Chairman of Executive Board, Morris Rosenblatt; Secretary of Executive Board, Saul Hodos.

UNITED NECKWEAR MAKERS' UNION, Local 11016, A. F. of L., 7 East 15th St. Phone, ALgonquin 4-7082. Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30. Board meets every Tuesday night at 8:00 in the office. Ed Gottelman, Secretary-Treasurer.

NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6. Office and headquarters, 24 West 16th St., N. Y. Meets every 3rd Sunday of month at Stuyvesant High School, 15th St., East of 2nd Ave. Phone, TOMpkins Sq. 6-7470. Leon H. Rouse, President; James P. Redmond, Vice-President; Samuel J. McGrath, Secretary-Treasurer; Samuel J. O'Brien, James P. Redmond and James J. Buckley, Organizers.

WAITERS' and WAITRESSES' UNION, Local No. 1, A. F. of L. and U. I. T. 290—7th Ave. W. Lehman, Sec'y; Tel.: LACKawanna 4-5483.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION, Local 62 of I.L.G.W.U., 73 Broadway, New York City. Telephone, CHelsea 3-5754-5757. A. Snyder, Manager; S. SHORE, Executive Supervisor.

An Impressive List of Plays on
The Sam Harris Program"Blind Date" on Fox Brooklyn
Screen—Spitalny on Stage

"Blind Date," with Ann Sothorn, Neil Hamilton and Paul Kelly, opens at the Fox Brooklyn for a week's run starting today.

Phil Spitalny, headlining the stage show at the Fox Brooklyn this week, is credited generally as having developed many new ideas in modern orchestras. He again comes to the fore with his new 30-piece all-girl orchestra. This marks the first attempt by one of America's prominent orchestra leaders to develop a feminine aggregation that will compare favorably with the best among the male orchestras. The unit of thirty musicians includes an all-girl glee club, a quartette, a comedy trio, and a girl baritone, Maxine Lash, who possesses one of the lowest vocal ranges ever heard. Billy Snyder, master of ceremonies, continues in that role.

22nd A. D. Kings Opening
Campaign Meetings

Friday, September 14th, at 8:30 p. m., in Club Rooms, 864 Sutter Ave., Brooklyn. Speakers: William Karlin, Theodore Shapiro, Meyer Singer, Samuel Block, Maurice Miller.—Friday, September 28th, meeting in Club Room. Speaker: Harry W. Laidler, and others.

Under New York State Valley Stream, Paul Hansen, noted Danish Socialist educator, will lecture on "The Cooperative Movement" Saturday, Sept. 22nd, at 8 p. m., in Mechanics Hall, East Jamaica Ave. The lecture is arranged by Lodge Long Island D.B.A. and the party branch is cooperating.

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Author of "Errant Lady"—
Well-Known Figure in World
of Theatre

Critical comment in recent years has been leveled against playwrights, novelists and poets, who in their creations have failed to write of current life. "Why," these gentlemen inquire, "have American writers failed to write of such vital matters as the depression, the Wall Street crash and similar phenomena that have stirred the body civic and social?"

Nat N. Dorfman, ace press agent and playwright, is one of those who have their eyes on life around. With his first effort in dramatic writing, he revealed a keen insight into the foibles of what we have, rightly or wrongly, come to classify as the human race. In "Take My Tip," his comedy of several seasons ago, he pictured for us a group of suburbanites reacting to the Wall Street crash. Mr. Dorfman points no moral. Moved to pity by the antics of the several figures he drew on his canvas, he seems to exclaim "What Fools These Mortals Be!" Pitying them, he yet cannot help laughing at them, and the characters of the play laugh at their own foibles.

This satiric quality has characterized Mr. Dorfman's shorter sketches which he has contributed to a number of musical shows within recent years. Outstanding examples being his fadeouts and sketches in "International Review," "Rhapsody in Black," and "Blackbirds." Mr. Dorfman's newest opus, a comedy entitled "Errant Lady," which opens at the Fulton Theatre next Monday evening, is well cast and directed by Priestly Morrison. Those who know Nat Dorfman's work are waiting eagerly for his latest.

"Aida" Opens Grand Opera
Season at the Brooklyn
Academy of Music

Verdi's masterpiece, "Aida," is the opera which the Brooklyn Civic Opera Association has chosen to inaugurate its limited season of grand opera at popular prices, to start at the Brooklyn Academy of Music beginning Saturday evening, Sept. 28.

Stellar casts will be featured in all the presentations. In "Aida," the title role will be sung by Anna Leskaya, Rosita Fordieri will essay Amneris, and that fine tenor, Edward Ransome, will be Rhadames. Guido Guidi and Rocco Pandicio will have other important roles.

250 voices will comprise the ensemble and a large corps de ballet will be used in the initial, gala performance. An augmented orchestra will be under the direction of Maestro Gabrielle Simeoni, who is scheduled also to conduct a number of other performances during the Civic Opera's tenantry of the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

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"Merrily We Roll Along" to
Open Sept. 29

Sam H. Harris promises a program for the incumbent season which is one of the most comprehensive he has ever planned. At least five productions have thus far been definitely announced.

On Saturday night, Sept. 29, he will offer a new play by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, called "Merrily We Roll Along." This is said to be a serious drama with a definite social angle and with only incidental comedy touches. It will be in nine scenes and will cover a period of eighteen years. It is announced that upwards of 90 people will be in the cast. The production is being arranged by George S. Kaufman.

When this is launched he will present a farce, "Bring on the Girls," by this same Mr. Kaufman and Morris Ryskind. These two wrote, it will be remembered, that delightful satirical and amazingly successful musical comedy, "Of Thee I Sing."

Eddie Cantor and Dave Freedman are at present engaged in fashioning a new play which is intended as a vehicle for Mr. Cantor and which will probably see the light some time in November under Mr. Harris' aegis. The story will be concerned with the life of a vaudeville, musical comedy and radio performer like Mr. Cantor himself.

Later in the fall there will be a new vehicle for those wild zanyes, the Marx Brothers. This, too, will be a play and not a musical comedy. It will most likely be based upon a picture scenario written for the comedians by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur and never screened.

For the first of the year Irving Berlin and Moss Hare expect to have a new revue ready. Both have already begun the writing of it and have tentatively titled it "More Cheers."

In addition to these ventures, Mr. Harris is interested in a projected dramatization of the compellingly interesting biography of the great Russian dancer Nijinsky, written by his wife. If this materializes, Paul Muni will play the title role.

"Strangers at Home" Opens
Tonight at Longacre Theatre

"Strangers at Home" is a first play by Charles Divine, newspaper man and magazine writer. The producers are M. S. and G. S. Schlesinger, and it is their first New York production. M. S. Schlesinger was for years lessee and manager of the Broad Street and Shubert Theatres, Newark. G. S. Schlesinger organized and for thirteen years directed the foreign department of Warner Brothers films. The play was directed by Walter Hart, who staged "The Wind and the Rain," "Merry Go Round," and "Precedent."

The cast is headed by Katherine Emery, Eleanor Hicks, William Post Jr., Clyde Franklin, Joan Wheeler, Marie Bruce, Maud Durand, Robert Henderson and Philippe de Lacy.

Art Troupe to Open Sept. 10
with Soviet Drama

With Joseph Buloff handling the directorial reins formerly held by Maurice Schwartz, the New York Art Troupe, theatre group recently formed to carry on the traditions of the Yiddish Art Theatre, has begun rehearsals of "The Verdict," a new drama by Sophia Levitina, Soviet playwright. The production, having as its background the Russian upheaval in 1921-22, is

Tip Your Hat To The Selwyn-Franklin "Lady Jane"

The Week on the Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

Mistaken Lady

"Lady Jane" by H. M. Harwood.
At the Plymouth.

We greet "Lady Jane" not so much for her own fair sake as for her post as first of an exciting season promised by Arch Selwyn and Harold B. Franklin. The lady herself is a stout-hearted matron, pleasantly played by Frances Starr, surrounded by a company that makes all the roles effective. But the very effectiveness, in terms of theatre, seems to disturb the inner truth of the characters. Each of the three women is inconsistent, almost to the point of implausibility.

The theme of the play seems to be the struggle of a woman to maintain her family. Lady Jane keeps her daughter-in-law safe, by negotiating an "unsuccessful infidelity"; she helps retrieve her erring daughter; and we discover that long ago she had chosen deceit and her husband instead of honest flight with a lover. And by a final turn, ironic enough for life, but out of the play's mood—however good a moment's curtain it provides—we see that the attempted deceit had been as long unsuccessful; and the theme of the play leaves Lady Jane in sudden wonder as the curtain falls. A number of cleverly put bits of wisdom add to the pleasure that good acting provides.

Adolphe Menjou at Roxy in "Human Side"—Stage Revue

"The Human Side," new Universal comedy starring Adolphe Menjou, will open today as the featured screen attraction at the Roxy Theatre. On the stage starting today will be a new variety revue featuring a group of well-known vaudeville artists. The Gae Foster Girls and the Roxy Rhythm Orchestra will, of course, be seen and heard in this new stage show.

Jacob Ben-Ami to Star in "A Ship Comes In"

Broadway will renew active acquaintance with another one of its outstanding personalities next week, when Jacob Ben-Ami appears in the leading role of Joseph Anthony's new play, "A Ship Comes In," already put in rehearsal by Richard Herndon, in association with John C. Mayer, with August Dunne as director. Like Mr. Herndon, who is returning to active production this season for the first time in three seasons, Mr. Ben-Ami has been absent from Broadway for nearly two seasons.

The role of Dr. Bard, Viennese psychologist of Mr. Anthony's play, was one of several which awaited Ben-Ami's acceptance on his return last week from a vacation in Europe. He met the producers in the office of the newly formed Mayhew Productions, Inc., a few hours after leaving the dock, read the play that night and accepted the role the following morning. The role is said to be strikingly different from any which Ben-Ami has yet undertaken in his fourteen years' career on the English speaking stage.

"Petersburg Nights" Holds Over at the Cameo

"Petersburg Nights," the new Soviet talkie presented by Amkino, is being held for a second week at the reopened Cameo Theatre. The theatre is now under the management of Matty Radin, who also operates the popular Acme, and employs a full union crew from the A. F. of L. Local 306.

"Mass Struggle" at the Acme

"Mass Struggle" has its American premiere at the Acme today. The film has for its background the Ukraine in the 18th century during the reign of Catherine the Great.

"Hell on Earth," Fine Anti-War Film, at 28th Street Theatre

"Hell on Earth," an international talkie and one of the first European-made films to feature a Negro actor, will be presented for a two-day run by the American League Against War and Fascism and the Film and Photo League next Monday and Tuesday, Sept. 17 and 18, at the 28th Street Theatre, 28th St. and Broadway.

Norman Thomas said of the film: "It seems to me that 'Hell on Earth' represents the art of motion picture at its highest. An immense propaganda power. It has immense value in the struggle for peace."

Henri Barbusse called this "the greatest of all anti-war films." When this picture was first shown it was highly praised in these columns. If you missed it then, be sure to see it now.

Thaelmann Films Coming

Moving pictures of Ernst Thaelmann, German Communist leader, which were smuggled out of Nazi Germany, will be shown for the first time at the 28th Street Theatre for four days—Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, Sept. 19, 20, 21 and 22.

"Bride of Torozko" Opens

"The Bride of Torozko," in which Sam Jaffe and Jean Arthur are the featured players, opened last Thursday at Henry Miller's Theatre. The play is being presented by Gilbert Miller and Herman Shumlin in association with the Westport County Playhouse.

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St. Boys—Peggy Taylor
& Co.—Collette Lyons
EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION
ROSS vs. McLARNIN
Fight Pictures—Round by Round
PALACE B'way & 47th St.

"Stevedore" to Reopen at the Civic Repertory Oct. 1

"Stevedore," the stirring drama of Negro longshoremen on the docks of New Orleans, will reopen at the Civic Repertory Theatre on Monday, October 1, the Theatre Union announces. It will play a limited engagement of four weeks before starting on a nation-wide tour.

The Theatre Union maintains a system of benefit theatre parties,

by which it gives a substantial discount to organizations taken blocks of seats. In spite of the fact that "Stevedore" was in the hit class and its seats could have been sold at regular prices, the Theatre Union reserved thousands of seats each week for its benefits. There were 152 such parties during its run. Many more, which could not be accommodated, are arranging to attend the reopening. Arrangements can be made at the theatre through Sylvia Regan-Watkins 9-2050.

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in
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**RAMONA & Jack FULTON
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Strike Advances On All Fronts

Socialist Picketing Closes Key Mill

KEY stronghold of the recalcitrant yarn industry in the metropolitan area, the Kahn & Feldman mills, Brooklyn, employing 800, were shut down just before press time after a week's intensive picketing by Yipsels and some party members, in whose charge yarn organization work in New York had been given. The youngsters had maintained picket lines at the strongly-fortified plant for three mill shifts, including one at 5 a. m.

The day before, a mass picket line, comprising a thousand strikers from all the struck mills in the city and hundreds of Socialists, was led and addressed by Norman Thomas.

Workers Defy Guns and Gas

(Continued from Page Five)

Immediate strike issues, should all this resolution to the attention of the workers they are now aiding, and further point out that the only labor party in the field this year will be the Socialist Party.

All Unions Out

In Hazelton, Pa., a one-day general strike has been called by the General Labor Union, the United Mine Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in support of the textile strike. The major objective of the general walkout is to close the Duplan Silk Mill, one of the largest in the world. All typographical workers will obey the call and the city will be without newspapers for the duration of the strike. Credit for this inspiring show of labor solidarity is due in part to two Socialists, Franz Daniel and Newman Jeffrey, who last year, as organizers for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, set the example by arranging a similar demonstration.

The General Strike Committee in Washington is making preparations for a long siege if necessary. "The strike goes on," declared Chairman Francis J. Gorman. "Peace is denied us and we must face management on the field of conflict, with folded arms, they with paid thugs, militia, machine guns and gas." An arbitration proposal of the union has been withdrawn following the stubborn resistance of the employers.

Relief has been promised by the American Federation of Labor through its 108 affiliated international unions. The needs of a great strike such as this incidentally bring into sharp focus a major weakness in the present set-up of the A. F. of L., frequently pointed out by The New Leader. No centralized labor relief agency exists at this time, and funds can be raised only by appealing to the various affiliated unions. At the San Francisco convention, it is expected that labor progressives will demand that a central relief agency be organized.

The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, headed by Norman Thomas, is responding to the appeals of many U. T. W. locals in the South. On one day Thomas received telegrams from twenty local textile union presidents in the Southern states appealing for immediate aid.

An interesting though minor sidelight of the strike has been the disbandment of the silk division of the Communist-controlled National Textile Workers' Union in Paterson. Its members have joined the United Textile Workers. This ac-



State troopers, at right, do their stuff "protecting" scabs in South Carolina

13 Months of NRA Code 1

Events Leading Up to Present Plight of "Model" Textile Code

JULY 9, 1933. NRA Code No. 1 Signed for Cotton Textile Industry.

4 MONTHS LATER. "The Code is a Success. Labor is Satisfied. The Industry is Making Profits."—Gen. Hugh Johnson, NRA Administrator.

8 MONTHS LATER. "In this Industry We Have Seen Tremendous Improvements for Labor."—Chairman Sloan, Cotton Textile Code Authority.

10 MONTHS LATER. "The Industry is Back to Pre-Code Conditions Through Lack of Code Enforcement."—President McMahon, United Textile Workers.

11 MONTHS LATER. "I Know of no Code that is Administered More Effectively."—Gen. Johnson.

13 MONTHS LATER, AUGUST 27, 1934. "A General Strike is Inevitable. The Industry has Absorbed all its Unemployed."—Chairman Sloan.

"Wages Have Been Forced Down. Workers Demand the Right to Strike."—Vice-President Gorman, United Textile Workers.

AUGUST 30, 1934. CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE.

LIGHT AND POWER UNION WINS REINSTATEMENT OF ORGANIZERS

By Stephen Carleton

NCESSITY for a strike vote which might have led to shutting off all electric light and power in Greater New York was eliminated when Brooklyn Edison Company officials agreed to reinstate to their former positions, without prejudice to their service records, two employees whose recent summary discharge precipitated the industrial crisis. In return, the two employees agreed to drop the con-

tention that their discharge was due to their union activities.

Announcement of the decision was made in a formal statement issued by the Regional Labor Board at 45 Broadway at six o'clock. It came at the end of conferences which had extended more than 24 hours, following the adjournment of the regional board's hearing on the case.

Plans for a strike vote last Friday announced by the Brooklyn

Behind the Scenes

(Continued from Page Five)

recommendations demanding action. These recommendations will never see the light of day, but it is generally understood that they are inferentially critical of what they imply is Johnson's lazzi-faire policy.

Running right down through the center of the NRA inner circle is a minority group which believes that this first big national strike

is interpreted in many quarters as the beginning of a retreat on the fatal dual union policy which has effectively isolated Communists from the mass of workers. Once strong in many textile centers, including Gastonia, N. C., the Communists are now "leading the strikers" as a small boy leads a speeding fire engine three blocks ahead of him.

is the big test of the NRA. They assert the cotton people have not lived up to the spirit of the code because they speeded up output per worker to such an extent as to nullify employment gains. Other industries under other codes have, of course, done the same thing.

Also, these boys insist that only fragmentary and inadequate reports have been made by the industry to NRA's research and planning division. They want NRA to step in, declare the code violated, and seize necessary statistics upon which a strike settlement could be worked out. Whether sufficient ground exists for such action is a question.

At any rate, the general has responded by continuing to swim in the surf at Bethany Beach.

Broadcast from General Strike Headquarters

(Continued from Page Six)

on fair terms of employment. The militia is on duty but our civil rights remain. We have the right to strike and the right to picket. (Applause.) More and more the public understands our struggle. The public is coming to feel, with us, that mills are not for profit alone, not for earnings on watered stock alone, not for the benefit of a few under autocratic management. We shall go on to victory! (Applause.)

Mr. Gorman (breaking into applause): That will do, Mike. (Applause ceases suddenly as radio is turned off.) They seem to be having a good meeting in Pawtucket. There are a hundred meetings like that tonight throughout the strike area, north and south.

Wright (breaking in): Wait, what's this. Here come news flashes. I can't get the station name.

Another Voice (Wolfe) as from radio: Militia mobilization has been ordered. (Bagle breaks in with assembly call. Drum rolls to sound of marching feet, dying away.)

Voice: Strike leaders declare they have picketed peacefully; mills are closed and will remain closed, and militia will have no effect on the strike.

Gorman: I wish we knew where that report came from, but we shall know soon. You who are here with me know that our position is that the militia ought never be called out to protect strikebreakers and we know that there has been no need for militia anywhere in the whole strike area, unless it might be to hold the paid thugs

who have been recruited by mill management and armed with the most deadly weapons of war.

Wright: We all know that, but not all governors seem to know it.

Gorman: We have tried, fellow workers, to take you through some of the highspots of what has come to be an average day in the textile strike. We make no pretense of having taken you actually to the field, but we have reproduced here in strike headquarters the things that happen in the field on a day like this. Tomorrow will be just the same, except that more mills will be closed and the lines will be tighter.

A strike is not a pleasant thing. We did not want it. We did all that we could to avoid it. Management would not yield. It has been bound to the industrial doctrines of the feudal ages. It seems, in the main, not able to realize that a new day dawned. I gladly say that many mill managements would like to have met with us and to have granted all of our demands, for they know they are just demands. But a reactionary group rules and rules with an iron and unrelenting hand.

We have tried to bring to you just a little of the tremendous drama that is flung the whole length of the Atlantic Seaboard and far inland. It is drama. It is humanity on the march. It is humanity inspired with a great ideal. It is humanity firm in the faith that right makes might and that in this faith we shall win.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and I thank you, Socialist Station WEVD.

Flying Squadron Shut Mills

(Continued from Page Five)

switch. In the meantime an anti-union weaver drew his knife to enforce his anti-union arguments in the weaving room and now one good union weaver is out of commission with two nasty slashes. But Santa Claus, one thousand strong, will put spirit into Liberty.

The bosses are having deputies sworn in by the hundreds. With machine guns and tear gas they line up behind the National Guards-

Edison Company were halted on Wednesday of last week when Mrs. Elinore Herrick, vice-chairman of the Regional Labor Board, agreed not to participate in a hearing on the grievances of Brooklyn Local 102 of the Brotherhood of Utility Employees of America. Her presence had been objected to by the union on the ground that she was prejudiced.

This crisis, in which the proposed strike threatened to shut off all electric light and power in Greater New York, and possibly spread throughout the Northeastern seaboard, was precipitated by the summary discharge of James Donegan, president of Local 102, and two other active union organizers.

Donegan and Marshall Neely were accused of "neglect of duty."

A third man, Luke O'Reilly, was discharged because the company had "lost confidence in him." All three, the union points out, were fired without a hearing.

Relay testers who were lately asked by the Brooklyn Edison Company whether they could operate power distributing stations in event of a strike generally answered that they would not or could not, according to "well authenticated reports" received by Local 102, Secretary O'Shaughnessy said.

men. So far there has been no violence in this section. Fist fights occur now and then. Many of the guardsmen are union men who have told the strikers not to worry—they don't want to shoot and they say they wouldn't use the bayonets for God Almighty.

The workers are showing plenty of spirit and have fine discipline. They say, "We won't start any trouble, but if the bosses start any, we won't forget we're MEN."

Passaic Denies Picketing Right; Paterson Invaded

PASSAIC.—The Board of Commissioners, a municipal body, has denied strikers the right to picket. A judge of the district court has declared that picketing will no longer be permitted, but the strikers have continued picketing despite arbitrary arrests and rough-house treatment of the strikers.

The Botany Mill has employed 300 armed private guards and has circulated a petition among those who remain in the mills which asks for police to protect them. Those who refuse to sign are told that they must sign or leave the mill.

A thousand striking textile workers in auto trucks proceeded from this city to Paterson Monday morning to pull out the workers in the woolen mills there and 1,500 strikers attended a mass meeting in the morning at Paterson. Eli Keller, secretary of the Associated Silk Workers, issued a call to spread the strike throughout the Passaic Valley.

Reports that the jacquard workers were returning to work were unfounded. They stand firm and the strike spirit is rising in Paterson.

Chicago Bus Drivers, Waging Valiant Fight, Wondering Whose Government This Is

By Meyer Halushka

CHICAGO.—The bus drivers, who have now been on strike for almost a month, are beginning to wonder if the Chicago Motor Coach Co. is bigger than the United States Government. In fact, when they see uniformed policemen riding in cars driven by the company's sluggers and arresting and throwing in jail beaten-up union men, they wonder whose government this is.

On Sept. 18, 1933, the motor coach company signed the code of fair competition for the transit industry, granting employees the right to organize. The men eagerly formed Division 1,022 of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America.

Previous to signing the code, the company maintained an organization known as the Chicago Motor Coach Fraternity. John A. Ritchie, president of the company, was also president of the fraternity, which functioned as a social club and granted sick benefits. Dues were \$1 a month, the company adding \$1 a month for each member. The fraternity had nothing to say in the matter of wages and working conditions. After the NRA code was signed, Ritchie resigned, had an employee elected in his place and gave the fraternity the status of a company union.

Firm Sends Out Spotters

When the company saw the men organizing, it sent the trustees of the fraternity on a house-to-house canvass telling the men and their wives not to join the union. Despite intimidation, the union grew.

On April 5, 1934, members of the union filed affidavits against the company, reporting violations of the NRA code. They appeared for a hearing before the Chicago Regional Labor Board. The company refused to appear but sent the secretary of the fraternity to take the names of the 15 union men who filed the affidavits. Within 10 days all were discharged, although many were "gold star men" with records of five to eleven years of careful driving.

The company continued to discharge men as soon as they were discovered to be members of the Amalgamated Association. Ralph Stoltzman, president of Division 1,022, was discharged after he made a radio talk over WCFL telling of the plight of the bus drivers. He is a gold star man with a record of five years without an accident. He was approached with an offer of \$5,000 and his job back if he would drop his union activities. Now he receives daily threats that he will be "bumped off."

The union brought charges against the company before four labor boards for violating Section 7-A. Each board ruled in favor of the union. The company ignored the decisions and defied authority by continuing to discharge union members.

Frameups Follow

Meanwhile the union found that the machinery of the city and state governments was being used against the drivers. On June 7, men from the State Attorney's office went to the homes of the discharged men and arrested them without a warrant on the charge of bombing a company garage. They were promptly released when the evidence seemed to point to an obvious frameup. At one of the union meetings five police squad cars drove up to the hall. Members going in and out of the meeting were checked and reported to the company. A delegation of the union to Mayor Kelly received a cold reception with no results. Appeals to the governor and the state

NRA enforcement body went unheeded.

On August 14, the Bus Drivers' Union called a strike. The sole demands were: 1. Recognition of Division 1,022 of the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, and 2. Reinstatement of men fired for joining the union.

At once, nearly 1,000 policemen were detailed to "protect" the company's property. More policemen were assigned to the garages than there were employees, although the company insisted that only 75 in all went on strike. Picketing was not allowed. Strikebreakers had already been imported. Cots were installed in the garages, so scabs could be kept under guard.

Ritchie Loves the Public

Full page ads appeared in all the newspapers stating over the signature of John A. Ritchie, president of the company, that the men had been discharged for incompetence and hence would not be reinstated, because the safety of the public was too dear to him. This concern over the safety of the public was rather unexpected to the readers, for not so long ago Ritchie converted all busses into one-man busses that proved so hazardous as to bring outcries of protest from many civic organizations and condemnatory resolutions from the city council itself. Furthermore, the statement made the frank admission that "incompetence" consisted in belonging to a union instead of to the fraternity.

To keep the men from leaving the jobs, pay was raised from 67 cents to \$1.12 an hour. Additional bonuses were promised to the men who would stay on the job during the strike.

On August 23, the National Recovery Administration ordered the company to remove the blue eagle from its properties. The daily press gave this announcement scant publicity, and to date has made no effort to mobilize public opinion against this gang of brazen law-breakers.

The company is determined to crush the union at all costs, so as to discourage attempts to organize among its affiliates in other cities, notably the Fifth Avenue Motor Coach Company of New York.

Most encouraging has been the splendid display of solidarity on the part of organized labor. The Chicago Federation of Labor has called upon its members to boycott the busses and lend support to the drivers. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have voted to place a large fine on any member who rides on a bus. The Carmen's Union has assessed each member 50 cents to help the strikers and there is considerable sentiment to call a sympathy strike in event the strike is not settled soon. The Federation of Jewish Trade Unions, The Jewish Daily Forward, and branches of the Socialist Party have done effective work to rally public support to the cause of the striking drivers. It is due to the energetic efforts of labor that the company has suffered a loss of 40 per cent of its passengers.

"We'll Stick It Out!"

The courage and the determination of the union drivers is inspiring.

"We'll stick it out till we win," declared the youthful president, Ralph Stoltzman, to the New Leader correspondent, "and we know we'll win."

As one follows the developments of the bus drivers' strike in Chicago, he is reminded of the strike by members of the same international union in the nearby city of Milwaukee. There the wholehearted support of the Socialist daily, the Milwaukee Leader, of Socialist Mayor Dan Hoan, and of the Socialist branches

Socialists Urge Against Policy of Deportation

MILWAUKEE.—The text of the statement of the Socialist national executive committee, opposing the anti-Communist activities proposed by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, follows:

"To our fellow workers of the trade unions:

"We, who speak for the Socialist Party of the United States of America, whose members have fought in many labor battles, are much concerned with a proposal that now faces you.

"We are sharply opposed to many things that the Communist party has done in the trade unions. They have followed a policy of dual unionism, have brought dissensions and divisions in your ranks and have seriously injured your organizations. We can understand the resentment that you feel. Our party has also been injured by Communist activities and we have no desire to defend these actions.

Danger of Reaction

"However, we appeal to the men and women of the labor unions not to let their resentment lead them into a course of action that may eventually bring terrible reprisals against the unions themselves. This country has always been an immigrant nation and for many decades has been an asylum for the oppressed of other nations. Some have fled from persecution and others have been deported by despots from their homelands.

"Now it is proposed that the trade unions cooperate with the government in deporting alien Communists. This would mean torture and, in some cases, death for the deported. We plead with you not to cooperate in such a despotic policy of retaliation because of real or fancied wrongs. Aside from the despotic and undemocratic character of this policy, there is the danger that we will invite its application to the trade unions as well. American labor history is strewn with incidents of reactionary organizations seizing labor organizers and strikers and deporting them to other states. Both native born and foreign born workers have been the victims of this policy even in recent years, especially in the southern states.

Point to Europe's Experience

"How can trade union men and women defend a policy of deportation when we have so often been the victims of this policy in labor struggles?

"We appeal to you not to venture upon a course that is certain to react upon the workers themselves as a whole. Every labor hater in the nation will be only too glad to point to your action against Communists as justification for a similar policy against you. Reactionary government officials and enemies of labor will pick up this weapon which labor's officials are forging and will use it to destroy the labor movement itself as in Germany, Austria and Italy.

Acts, Not Beliefs, Punishable

"We submit that a better policy can be adopted without incurring the danger we point out. Uniform penalties should be provided for all members guilty of anti-union activities, whether the members are Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Independents or Communists. We should never penalize members because of their political, economic or religious views. In the words of Voltaire, we say to the Communists, 'we disagree with what you say, but we will defend to the death your right to say it.'

"We address you thus because of our deep concern for the progress of the trade unions. Our party members and members of our youth organizations have generously responded to trade union appeals for aid and for pickets in many labor

30-Hour Week to Cope With Unemployment Demanded By Printers' International

By Morris Seskind

CHICAGO.—The 78th convention of the International Typographical Union opened in the presence of 400 delegates representing 75,000 members. From the moment President Charles P. Howard greeted the delegates up to the writing of this article, the question of unemployment was uppermost in the minds of the delegates and in the speeches of the representatives of the labor movement present.

According to President Howard, there are 75,000 member-printers unemployed in the industry. And the question is how to make possible their re-employment.

The first day of the convention was devoted to greetings from representatives of the Illinois and Chicago Federations of Labor. President Robin Soderstrom, John Fitzpatrick, Victor Olander and President Howard dwelled on the problem of unemployment in general and the part that the NRA has played in the last year to increase employment, if any.

Code Didn't Help

President Howard declared that the graphic arts code had done nothing for the commercial printers. It had not increased wages nor reduced hours of labor. In the newspaper branch, the five-day law had been established six months before the NRA went into force.

In order to absorb the tens and thousands of unemployed printers the thirty-hour week will have to be established because the forty-hour week leaves about seventy-one thousand printers unemployed.

The convention was addressed by President William Green on two occasions. Sunday evening, the second day of the convention, he spoke to the delegates at the Court of States in the World's Fair. Monday morning he addressed the convention proper in the Palmer House. In both speeches, he stressed the short work-week. He maintained that the 40-hour week had no place in our economic setup. The employers themselves made it obsolete, he added, through the continual introduction of new machinery, replacing what had been just installed, with the aim of increasing the efficiency of the workers and at the same time retaining the long work period. Green emphasized that industry must permit the incorporation into the industrial codes of the six-hour day and the five-day week for all workers.

Raps 7A Enforcement

He criticized the administration for not enforcing Section 7a of the NRA, he attacked the industrialists for defending the company unions which they use to destroy legitimate labor unions.

It seems to be a foregone conclusion that the convention will adopt a resolution for the 30-hour week and will ask the Congress that the Connery Thirty-Hour Week Bill, sponsored by the chairman of the Committee on Labor in the House of Representatives, be adopted.

The report of the officers to the convention shows that the organization is in a powerful position. In spite of the depression, the International Typographical Union has come out stronger and in a much better financial condition.

Woodruff Randolph, secretary of

struggles. We shall respond to other such appeals.

"We stand for unity and solidarity of the organized working class and we hope that no hasty judgment and ill considered action will induce you to approve of a policy that is not only undemocratic but is cruel and inhuman, a policy that would play into the hands of the enemies of labor, a policy that would be regretted only when it would be too late to rectify."

the union, told the delegates that the average death age of the printers today is 62 years, whereas in 1892 it was 41 years. This is due to the invention of the linotype and other machinery, to sanitary conditions, and mainly to the shorter hours secured by the union for the workers. All these factors contributed to greater longevity for the printers.

The convention will last until Saturday and will discuss more than 100 resolutions referring to changes in the constitution of the International Typographical Union. Among the resolutions is one introduced by Delegate Hymen Bloom, president of Local 83, and Morris Rosenman, secretary of the local, asking the convention to support the boycott against Nazi Germany. This is expected to be adopted.

Rebel Arts Puppeteers Announced

Puppets, those queer dolls of wood and cloth, old as mankind, will now preach the message of Socialism.

Rebel Arts has acquired a puppet theatre and welcomes Yipsels and Socialist sympathizers to join the troupe. Experience is not essential, as we have expert coaching. The writers' group will be expanded to provide sketches for this fascinating medium.

"Murder in Uniform," an anti-war comedy, and "Prosperitee," a musical satire on the misdeeds, are among the plays written by the writers' group to be scheduled for early production.

Party branches, unions and radical organizations may arrange for free performances, with charges only for transportation. For further information write to Rebel Arts Puppeteers, 22 East 22nd Street, New York, or phone the director, John Lovering, before 6 p. m. Atwater 9-0828.

Dancers Register Next Week; Drama, Art and Choral Notes

Registration for the Rebel Arts Dance Group takes place next Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday from 6:30 to 8:30 at headquarters. You must register for the ten-weeks' semester to start classes the following week. (Elementary, advanced and creative classes under Frances Leber.)

The call goes out soon for the re-opening of the chorus (directed by Ada Rifkin) and the dramatic group (directed by Nadya Abeles). Teh graphic arts division will soon announce its life class, poster group and camera club.

N. Y. Dressmakers Raising \$25,000 to Fight Fascists

A fund of \$25,000 is being raised by the New York dressmakers to aid the anti-Fascist movements in Germany, Austria and Italy, it was announced by Charles S. Zimmerman, chairman of the Anti-Fascist and Anti-Nazi Drive Committee of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers Union, I.L.G.W.U., in a stirring call to its membership issued today. The sum will go towards the \$50,000 anti-Fascist fund decided upon by the last convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of which the dressmakers' union is a part.

By special decision, enthusiastically ratified by the recent shop chairmen's meeting, the Joint Board pledges itself to raise half of this sum through collections in the shops. Cutters, pressers, operators and drapers are called upon to donate \$1 each, while the workers of the other crafts, examiners, finishers, pinkers and cleaners, are asked for 50 cents each. The fund is to go to aid the fight against Fascism.

REACHES DETROIT

Carried On by Italian City; Workers

Due to the president of the organization to demand his resignation. The president, Rev. Vincent Castellucci, a minister of a Methodist church, a man of peaceful disposition and unwilling to become involved in a row with drunken rowdies, resigned.

The Casa Italia

One of the projects which Ungarelli has been agitating is the erection of what he calls *Casa Italia*, a sort of community house where Italians may gather for recreation and other purposes. However, it is well known among Italians that the purpose is a headquarters for fascist propaganda.

About three months ago Ungarelli held a meeting at Lombardy Hall to which were invited about

one hundred men, each of whom was a leader of at least one group or organization—key men, as it were. Ungarelli stated that he wanted to have this *Casa Italia* built; that the Italian government would guarantee \$5,000 and the balance, a very substantial sum, would have to be raised by the Italian people. He added that it would be too bad for anybody in that audience who failed to do his share toward raising the money. A sample of his persuasive appeal is to be found in this language that he used: "It is true that heads have been broken in Italy. It may also be necessary to break heads here."

One Italian refused to raise money, and shortly afterwards was a victim of deportation proceedings on the alleged ground that he had come into this country on a temporary visa and failed to return upon the expiration of the time allotted. This man charged that information was given to American Immigration authorities by the Italian Vice Consul in consummation of the threat that it would be too bad for anyone who declined to fall into line with Ungarelli's demands.

Not only does Ungarelli carry out the demands of the Italian fascist government; he also has been seeking to create a boycott against Italian newspaper publishers who believe in democratic methods and who oppose fascism.

The Case of Albanesi

Vito Albanesi left Italy in 1932 upon a temporary visa to visit the United States for commercial purposes. In Italy he had been in partnership with two brothers, involving a business that was worth two million lira and doing an annual business of two million lira. Shortly after Mussolini's advent to power, this man was arrested without cause and held in prison for six months and then released. He was later arrested again and held, and once more released. His only crime was that he was anti-fascist and that his opposition to Mussolini was known in the town where he lived. When this man came to this country he did not return to Italy but lived in New York for

two years. He then came to Detroit, where he has been living ever since. He has become a leader in his community and the trustee and treasurer of the Sons of Italy, which published a monthly periodical. Ungarelli learned that the paper was being published by a publisher who is anti-fascist. Accordingly, he summoned Vito Albanesi to his office and demanded that Albanesi discontinue having the magazine published at that printing house. Albanesi asked why. Ungarelli replied that it was because the owner of this concern was anti-fascist. Albanesi stated that by having the paper published at this printing house they were saving \$40 on each issue. Ungarelli retorted that he would make up the difference, but that he insisted upon the discontinuance. Albanesi declined. Ungarelli threatened that he would regret his refusal.

Shortly after, Albanesi was arrested for deportation. Albanesi charges that the Immigration authorities were given information by the Italian Vice Consul so that if deportation proceedings are successful, Albanesi will be sent to Italy where he will be left to the tender mercies of the fascist regime.

Blackmail

Another diversion of Ungarelli has been to go to Italian business men and insist that they discontinue advertising with Italian anti-fascist newspapers. Italian business men import Italian goods from Italy. They are threatened by Ungarelli that pressure will be exerted that would make it impossible for them to receive goods from Italy unless they yield Ungarelli's demands.

Recently one Detroit publisher went to the Prosecutor's office to complain about this boycott. Unfortunately, the Italian publication was without remedy because no action for damages can be taken against the Italian Vice Consul due to his diplomatic immunity.

Efforts are being made to persuade the President of the United States to ask for the recall of Ungarelli because of his interference with the lives of Italians and particularly his fascist propaganda and thereby decrying democratic methods. Whether these efforts will succeed will depend in a large measure upon what interest the public will show. It is hoped that national interest will be developed and that it will be manifested in requests to the President, that Ungarelli will be recalled.

BRESHKOVSKAYA DEAD

Babushka has at last passed away. Old Catherine Breshkovskaya, 90-year-old heroine of the Russian Revolution, has laid her wearied body to rest after a life of incredible hardships and incredible heroism.

The venerable "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," who gave up wealth and ease and position to serve the cause of the enslaved people of her tortured land passed away peacefully in Czechoslovakia, where she lived out her last few years as the guest of the Republic, whose President, Thomas G. Masaryk, was her warm friend.

In her time, Babushka was one of the great of the revolutionary movement. But the Bolshevik revolution came, and she was passed by. Her name has been reviled, and she has been held up to contempt by those who enjoyed the fruits of her matchless heroism.

But in years to come her name will live with those who first dared dream of a Russia that would some day be free. She was a great woman, and she lived a great life. She deserved to be allowed to die in Russia!

Editor's Corner

Review of and Comment on Events Here and Abroad, Critical and Otherwise

Questions and Answers

FOR some reason quite a number of inquiries have been received in the past week or two, and those that are of general interest will be answered in this column. Those not of general interest will be answered by letter. We want to repeat that readers should not expect us to engage in research or supply them with material for lectures. We do not have the time for this.

Elmer G. Sebastian, Baltimore, Md.—So far as we know, the Lintz program of the Austrian Socialists in 1926 has not appeared in print, but we recall that a fall issue of *Current History* for that year carried a summary of it. Look up this publication in your public library. A letter to the secretary of the L.S.I., Zurich, Switzerland, may result in locating a copy of the German original.

J. B. Richardson, Lakeside, Wash.—You ask whether Socialists have not sufficient confidence to "work out their plans in detail" for a future Socialist society? Any detail plans would be speculative and they will be worked out differently in each country. Such plans are necessarily speculative because the reconstruction of capitalism on a Socialist basis will depend upon the degree of economic development, whether the country is hampered in any way by opposing capitalist countries, whether power comes in a period of peace or after a war, in a period of confusion or crisis. Plans are suggestive and valuable, and many writers have given attention to them, but never from the point of view that "this is the plan." The national office of the Socialist Party will soon publish a pamphlet, *The Commonwealth Plan*, which is suggestive but not presented as THE plan.

P. Harold, Montreal, Canada.—Two other letters like yours have been received. We concede your sincerity, but if Upton Sinclair's course is correct, then the logical thing for Socialists to do is to abandon the Socialist Party and join the Democratic Party. That is to say, we should join a capitalist party to abolish capitalism. This is the absurdity to which Sinclair's course leads. He will not capture the Democratic Party; that party will capture him. Should he be elected, he will plan for a renomination and to get it he must make a bargain with the politicians, who in turn are the tools of the exploiters who own the Democratic Party. One might as well think of a pro-slavery party before the Civil War abolishing slavery as a pro-capitalist party abolishing capitalism. Sinclair is a prisoner of capitalist politics; forget him.

L. O'Dell, Portland, Ore.—The book you mention may assert that "murder and destruction" will eventually occur in the struggle for working class liberation, but why should we be guided by the writings of a non-Socialist author? Every venture into a force philosophy in this country has reaped disaster. The person who advocates it is either a fool or a police agent. Marx and Engels had their experience with these romantics following the end of the revolutions of 1848, when they revealed that the secret organizations following that defeat were filled with such fools who were being egged on by police agents. And where is the force that the modern working class is to use against the police, militia, army, artillery, bombing planes, machine guns, control of telegraph, wireless, radio, railroads and munition plants? Underground Communists in this country fourteen years ago were hurling handbills from buildings, calling workers to "armed insurrection," and they were soon filled with spies. Avoid such nonsense.

G. F., Jersey City.—One other comrade wrote us of this mimeograph bulletin that stated that *The New Leader* had always been an organ of "right wing Socialism." We are not disturbed, as the statement itself has not helped those who have published it. The fact is that, beginning in 1926, we observed a tendency here to woo the liberals, and because of this the editor began to make written reports to the annual meetings of *The New Leader Association*, defining the policy of the paper as working class and anti-"liberal," and the files for years show that this has always been its policy. It is amusing that some of those who now make this statement were themselves wooing the liberals!

R. E. Resler, West Palm Beach, Fla.—Several other correspondents have expressed the desire to see the series on the Materialistic Conception of History in pamphlet form. Better wait till each section of the series is completed. Perhaps a number of sections can be reprinted. In any event, funds are hard to get just now and they are required to put over as effective a political campaign in each state as we can.



Jersey, when strike vote was announced

of Vienna Uprising

were di- are sufficient to demonstrate how the Communists heaped lie upon lie in order to place the responsibility for the defeat of the February uprising upon the Social Democracy.

There is a naive kind of interpretation of history that traces the progress of history back to effect so-called great men. Good kings bring happiness to the people. Great generals lead their armies to victory. Wicked tyrants bring distress upon the people, and betrayers cause its defeats.

Marx and Engels demolished this naive interpretation of history. They proved to us that the progress of history is determined by the development of productive forces and industrial relations of class contradictions and class struggles, and that "great men" never did and never could amount to anything more than the agents of the forces which determine the progress of history. The Communist propaganda has turned back to the naive interpretation of history disproved by Marx. Place at the head of the masses a Lenin or a Stalin and they will gain their victory and their freedom! Is the working class defeated? It is only because their leaders were betrayers! We must admit that this kind of interpreta-

tion of history saves the trouble of a Marxian analysis of the origin and causes of the victories and defeats of the proletariat.

Nevertheless I must undertake to undo a few lies in order to terminate their circulation. Bela Kun writes that Deutsch and I had declared that we were in Floridsdorf during the fights. He even wants to be so friendly to us and believe that. I affirm that we had never so declared. It would have been imprudent to remove the headquarters to the left bank of the Danube.

Kun also quotes a declaration that I seemingly made to the representative of the *Süd-Ost* and draws his own conclusions. I affirm that I never made any declarations to the above named representatives. Kun has the audacity to tell that General Körner was the military guide of the *Schutzbund*, and that after the outbreak of the uprising he went home and there, at 7 o'clock in the evening, was arrested. I affirm that Körner was not the military guide of the *Schutzbund*; that early in the morning of February 12 he left his house and never entered it again, and that the police succeeded in arresting him at noon.

(To be continued)

McLevy Heads Ticket in Conn.

By Special Correspondent

BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—Your special correspondent, not a resident of Connecticut, helped to organize that state in 1900 and has attended at least half its state conventions. He is therefore qualified to speak with authority in saying that never has the Connecticut Socialist Party had a convention such as closed Sunday night with the singing of the International, and an air of victory that was inspiring.

Every part of the state was represented, and in numbers it was by far the largest, some 155 accredited delegates being seated, in addition to fraternal delegates from many workers' groups, including the Lace Workers, United Hatters, Workmen's Circles, Poale Zion, Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit, Mechanics' Educational Society, etc.

Martin F. Plunkett, State Chairman, presided both days, with State Secretary Arnold E. Freese acting as convention secretary.

The banquet Saturday night was attended by over 300 guests, with many speakers, among others J. N. Danz of New London, elected president as a Progressive but a few days before at the Connecticut State Federation of Labor convention, who in the course of his remarks thanked the Socialist trade unionists for their part in making that convention progressive and asking their further aid in making the Federation still more progressive.

Although Connecticut has both strong advocates and opponents of the Detroit Declaration, with the membership very evenly divided, the convention was notable for its harmony and constructiveness. Even a capitalist daily was forced to write: "Victory was in the air at the convention. Socialists no longer feel like outcasts in Connecticut. With a Socialist city administration in Bridgeport, enormous gains in the Socialist vote of New Haven and Meriden, and new organizations springing up all over the

Nutmeg area, the Socialists feel they are going places, and they are full of business."

National Chairman Krzycki and George H. Goebel of New Jersey were the principal speakers at the Sunday session, both eliciting much applause, and the latter, as usual, getting in an effective word for party building, and in particular the party press, gathering in a bunch of subs both for the state paper, The Commonwealth, and for The New Leader.

Instead of the usual type of platform, the party puts forth this year "A Letter to the Voters," an innovation in such documents. The convention paid its respects to the arms and munition makers of Connecticut, pledging themselves to "put an end to the trade in fear and blood" and denouncing the armament industry as "a disgrace to the state." Many resolutions were adopted, among others urging the party to greater education of its members, and use of correspondence classes such as that of the Rand School, and classes in speaking, with manuals such as that of August Claessens as text books.

The last item on the program was the nomination of a state ticket. Practically the entire convention was agreed on Jasper McLevy for Governor, although he felt his mayoral duties too great to accept. But at the close of Devere Allen's speech nominating him, there was such an ovation that McLevy had to accept and Allen, in turn, was drafted for United States Senator, the other nominees, all outstanding, capable comrades of many years' service, being as follows: Lieutenant-Governor, John Vaninetty, of New Britain; Celia D. Rastow, of New Haven, for Secretary of State; Louis O. Krall, of Meriden, for State Treasurer; Albert Boardman, of Norwich, for Controller; Maurice Kesnick, of Bridgeport, for Attorney-General, and John W. Ring, of Waterbury, for Congressman-at-Large.

A touching episode was the tribute paid to the late beloved Morris Hillquit, all delegates rising in silence in honor of the revered memory of the departed leader.

GORDON NYE NAMED FOR FLORIDA SENATOR

By M. E. Edson

State Secretary, Socialist Party of Florida

LAKE WALES, Fla. — Gordon Nye of Orlando, once city editor of the old New York Call, an outstanding Socialist journalist for many years, was named for United States Senator at the recent state convention of the party here. At the same time a condensed revision of the "Commonwealth Plan" was adopted as the state congressional platform.

Other candidates include: Lee Hankins of Miami for Congressman-at-Large; for Congress, first district, Josephine de la Grana; third district, R. G. Cox of St. Andrews; fourth district, F. S. Porter of Jacksonville. William Harwick, of Jacksonville, and Benjamin Eefting, of Miami, were nominated for the State Supreme Court.

A resolution was sent to Governor Sholtz urging him to print the names of the candidates of minority parties on the ballots, and demanding the abolition of the poll tax. An appeal was also addressed to the N.E.C. for help in the campaign to secure these amendments to the election laws at the next meeting of the state legislature.

The convention went on record as advocating "a program of education, organization, and political action and lawful methods in order to secure the economic changes which we believe are necessary." Also that "We are opposed to the use of violence, force, and unlawful, anarchistic methods."

FULL TICKET NAMED IN SAN ANTONIO

By William Plampin

State Secretary

SAN ANTONIO, Tex.—A clipping from the San Antonio Light reveals that Comrade Luther Roulain, this year's candidate for Tax Assessor in San Antonio, was running for the office of Second District Commissioner twenty years ago. In all these years he has been one of the steady supporters of the Socialist Party.

The San Antonio local in the 20th Congressional District has nominated an almost complete ticket for the coming November election, while reports from other districts also show large Socialist groups in the running.

For the 20th Congressional District in Bexar County the complete Socialist ticket will be: H. M. Shelton for Congress; Bruce W. Jones, John Lincoln and A. B. deLuna for the State Legislature; Ida J. Shelton for Superintendent of Schools; Hinda Usdanský for District Clerk; Lily O'Connor for County Clerk; E. C. N. Schuette for Sheriff, and Harry Usdanský for County Treasurer. For Congress from the 8th District, P. L. Peterson of Houston. Reports from Houston also show that candidates are running for the State Legislature.

From the 18th District, R. D. Tomlinson is running for Congress, and Alonzo Turner for State Representative from the 124th District. Local Shamrock has J. W. Mengers for Justice of the Peace, and Walter Turnbow for Constable. The Democrats have not nominated men for the last two offices, so the fight will be between the Republican and Socialist candidates. In

Party Candidates are Barred in West Va.

By J. F. Higgins

State Secretary

STAR CITY, W. Va.—In the coming election the Socialists of this state will have six county tickets in the field. Cabell, Monroe, Harrison, Marion, Barbour and Kanawha counties will have a full list of candidates. All of our Congressional, State, Senatorial and the U. S. Senate petitions have been curiously refused by W. S. O'Brien, Secretary of State. The reason given in the case of eight candidates was that the legal amount of signers had not been obtained. In the case of John C. Chase, for Congress in the 2nd District, whose petitions had over 100 signers above the legal amount, Mr. O'Brien took exception to 662 signatures on the grounds that some had not given their P.O. address, others permitted some members of their families to sign for them. Mr. O'Brien takes refuge in the technicality of the law. We stand willing to give him the addresses to the excepted signers. In a letter to Comrade Chase, Mr. O'Brien states that he is trying to construe the election law liberally, but that it would be "a dangerous precedent to allow signatures to a certificate of nomination to be written by any other than the party himself, except, perhaps, where signed by marked (X), with witnesses." We have not yet heard that Mr. O'Brien is a handwriting expert. So far for the liberal construction of the law, the Prohibition Party, whose vote was less than one-half of the Socialist in the last election, has nominated by convention and as yet we have not heard that they have been refused a place on the state ballot.

Less than ten days after our petitions were filed, Mr. O'Brien gave a statement to the press that all of our state petitions were refused by his office.

The law defines a political party as "Any affiliation of voters representing any principle or organization which, at the last preceding general election, polled for its candidate for governor at least one per cent of the total number of votes cast for all candidates for that office in the State."

In the election of 1932, the Prohibition Party received 2,342 votes. Thomas and Maurer received 5,133, neither party obtaining one per cent of the total vote cast for governor. We are considering a plan meeting in Club Room. Speaker: law in court.

In the counties where we have tickets, our candidates are putting up an aggressive fight and their speakers are stressing the importance of an election law that will be fair to all minority parties.

IN MISSOURI

By Martin B. Lachner

Missouri State Chairman

The State Executive Committee which met at Kansas City September 2, reports the fast growth of the party since the last meeting in June. Since that time, Comrade T. F. McCoy of Dexter has been elected a member of the committee from his Congressional district, which leaves only two unorganized Congressional Districts out of thirteen in the State. In addition, State Secretary Duemler could report the formation of fourteen new locals in the past few months.

At this meeting plans were laid for concentrated effort in all districts for the two weeks preceding Election Day; and to provide watchers for all polling places. The committee also plans to meet early in December at Joplin to go over the election results, and to devise methods of taking the best possible advantage of the election results.

Mrs. Rose M. High, candidate for Congress from the 7th District, gave the principal address at the mass meeting which was held at the Liberal Center, and captivated her audience with her speech.

Hockley County there will be R. A. Walker for State Representative from the 119th District, Walter Young for Sheriff, Bailey Hicks for County Judge, J. K. Larue for County Treasurer, and E. Pelfrey for County Commissioner.

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Related Labor Day Greetings

Brewers' Union, Local 1,

Congratulates the organized workers for the growing solidarity that spells better conditions for the entire working class.

Solomon in Baltimore

Charles Solomon, candidate for governor in New York, will be the chief guest speaker at the rally to open the Maryland state campaign Sunday night. He will leave Sunday morning for Baltimore, where the meeting will take place at Lehman's Hall, 848 North Howard Street, the largest hall in the city.

Party Notes

Michigan

Wayne County. For the fifth consecutive year the Detroit Labor College offers courses in worker's education. The subjects are: Public Speaking 1 and 2; Economics 1 and 2; Economic History of America; History of the Labor Movement; History of Social Institutions; Dramatic Arts; Choral Singing and Proletarian Culture. Classes begin Monday, September 17, at 8, at 225 E. Forest Ave. Enrollment fee is 25 cents to those working and free to the unemployed.

Next W.C.C.C. meeting Monday evening, September 17. In spite of weather conditions the Labor Day Picnic was a great success. Walter Bergman has returned from Europe and will resume his duties as county chairman.

Ohio

Cleveland. A meeting for Paul Hansen of Denmark will open educational events in Cleveland Tuesday evening, September 25, at Amalgamated Hall, 2804 E. 4th St. An effort is being made to interest Danish groups.

The State Executive committee will meet in Cleveland Sept. 16 at the Labor Institute, 10511 Pasadena Ave. The 25th ward branch is sponsoring a banquet in honor of the S.E.C.

Fred Henderson's meetings in Ohio follow: Oct. 15, Toledo; Oct. 16, Akron; Oct. 17, Cleveland; Oct. 19, Columbus; Oct. 20, Yellow Springs.

New Jersey

Newark Yipsels will hold a big anti-war meeting Sunday evening, Sept. 16, at the Workmen's Circle Labor Lyceum, 190 Belmont Ave. Speakers are: Norman Thomas, Herman F. Neisser, Socialist candidate for Governor, and Noah Walter, Eastern District YPSL Secretary.

New York State

Rome. The local has now thirty members. A drive for New Leader subscribers is on. Membership. Reports of the National office, based on dues and exempt stamps, show that the up-to-date membership of New York State was between 37 and 38 per cent larger for the first seven months of 1934 than for the corresponding months of 1933.

Judicial Conventions. All conventions for nomination of Justices of Supreme Court, with the exception of the 1st Judicial District, will be held Sept. 27. The 5th Judicial District convention will be held at Syracuse, and the 9th at New Rochelle. The 1st District convention is to be held Sept. 26.

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Norman Thomas

TIMELY TOPICS

The Textile Strike

THE general strike in the textile industry is the most magnificent demonstration of widespread labor solidarity the country has seen. The agitator which made it possible was the outrageous exploitation of workers in an industry to which power was first applied, an industry that began by exploiting the labor of children of six years and which has never changed its spots. The capitalist press cries out against violence. It will be noticed that it is the workers who have died. The union has counselled against violence and sabotage, against all acts of terrorism, and its advice has been followed. Some of our editorial friends might consider whether flying squadrons which try to get workers out of a mill represent more force or worse force than the pressure of the bosses and the police, etc., to keep them in. It is gratifying to see how many Socialists are working hard in this strike. They are working in it with no ulterior purpose but only to advance the cause of labor. That is as it should be.



Norman Thomas

The Onion Strike

THE country, and especially the workers, have not heard half enough about that onion strike in Hardin County, Ohio. I spent some time looking into the situation on my way back from Wisconsin. The fact of immediately pressing importance is this: Unless there is great pressure by labor and all friends of justice upon the Governor and other authorities in Ohio, the leaders of the mob which kidnapped and cruelly beat Okey Odell, the strike leader, will either not be indicted at all or will not be prosecuted under the indictment. On the other hand, some fifty odd boys who have been in a vile jail since early in July will be indicted, and the indictments will be pushed. These boys have been held under bail which in the desperate poverty of the strikers was preposterously high. Although a special Grand Jury was in session, their cases were not brought before it. They were simply held in jail. Habeas Corpus proceedings in their behalf were dismissed on a technicality.

Behind this issue of civil liberty is an extraordinary economic situation. Here on some of the richest land in Ohio or anywhere else are the worst living conditions that I have seen north of the Mason and Dixon line. The shacks in which human beings are forced to live are incredible. Even the best of them are not fit for human beings. There is no protection against child labor in the onion fields. Children crawl the weary lengths of the onion rows in the season for something like 4 or 5 cents an hour. A man is lucky in the season who can make a dollar or a dollar and a quarter a day, and the days run to ten hours in length. The whole onion industry, in Ohio at least, is parasitic. It does not support its own workers. They could not live even in more "normal" times except for occasional or more or less regular relief in winter from county authorities. Some of the people are driven to petty thievery to live, and then they are called vile names because of what the system has done to them.

The agricultural union is the first to have a federal charter from the A. F. of L. It was organized largely by Socialists from Toledo. The local president, Okey Odell, is a fine upstanding man with genuine possibilities for leadership. He was abducted by a mob and beaten after there had been a dynamite outrage at the home of the Mayor of the town of McGuffey. In fact, Odell was virtually surrendered by a Deputy Sheriff to the mob. With great bravery Odell came back and has defied the mob since. It is absurd to believe that he or any striker had anything to do with the dynamiting of the Mayor's home. They aren't dynamiters. If they were, there were a dozen other things they would have dynamited first. The Mayor of that little village was on the side of the growers, but he commands no police force. There is much that is obviously phony about the whole business. The principal growers are big land owners and one of them, at least, a corporation, and a mighty solvent one at that. Newspapermen and lawyers openly admitted to me that in their opinion the prosecutor and the County Judge were too prejudiced to do justice in the cases brought before them. The Cultural Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio has got out a little play which gives a pretty good picture of Hardin County and the onion strike. Copies can be had, I think, for ten cents from Mrs. Elizabeth Morgan, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Meanwhile, the union and all their friends should be backed all over the country in a drive for something like justice for men and women and children who live like serfs

of the Middle Ages on the land of the onion barons. Indeed, my comparison is all too correct. There are private roads on the land which are today closed to the outsider. The barons are afraid of what the outsider might see.

The Morro Castle

THE Morro Castle disaster was frightful in itself and so far seems to shed a lurid light on a condition on one ship which it is reasonable to think may not be confined to that ship. It is already clear that there was a terrible delay in sending out an SOS when fire was first discovered. The acting captain, promoted on the sudden death of the captain before fire was discovered, seems to have been brave enough but not efficient. The chief engineer left the boat, telling his subordinates to hang on! He took with him two passengers and 29 or 30 members of the crew. The Seamen's Union charges that the Ward Line pays low wages and uses non-union crews. No wonder that the Ward Line would like to establish that the fire was incendiary in origin. That would help relieve it of a burden of moral and financial responsibility which is now piling up mountain high. A better labor policy on ships might get better results in time of emergency. This does not imply that any of the crew were concerned in any act of arson. It merely means that underpaid and exploited crews do not always make heroes in time of stress.

As Goes Maine

THE Maine election is hailed as a great encouragement for the administration. Why did the Republicans expect victory? There is a lot of discontent against the New Deal, but what large body of citizens would go back to the old deal or to the kind of thing that Herbert Hoover has broken his silence to praise? For all the growling of a certain type of business men it is true that business in general is doing pretty well under the New Deal. As I have demonstrated before in this column, the profits of big business have gone up under the New Deal out of all proportion to any return to the farmers or workers. The New York Times and other papers in their financial columns have admitted the general friendliness of business to the New Deal. Mark Sullivan, a staunch Republican, points out that in Maine even Chambers of Commerce are inclined to think that it's good to have state officials and Congressmen in Washington friendly to the administration so that Maine can get money for relief and public works from the administration. That's the way the argument is going to run this fall.

Now in all this there is a moral for Socialists. We shall get almost everywhere a friendly hearing. We shall not get votes away from the New Dealers or "good men" like Sinclair except as we make convinced Socialist converts. That fact ought to determine the kind of campaign we shall wage. He lives in a fool's paradise who thinks that the New Deal is solving anything or that we are on the way to any kind of true recovery, or indeed that what the workers ought to want is recovery of nothing better than they had in the '20's. It isn't much better to be a little to the left of the New Deal inside the capitalist order. A LaFollette in Wisconsin, a Sinclair in California, a Mrs. Pinchot in Pennsylvania can't really improve on Roosevelt in Washington as long as they all accept capitalism.

In Wisconsin

THERE is an exceedingly favorable situation in Wisconsin for preaching Socialism. I can testify from personal experience to the unusual interest of farmers in the subject. It is of vital importance just now to the party and to the future of the labor movement that Wisconsin should elect at least two Congressmen and roll up a big vote for a state ticket. If it does that the Socialists will take the lead. They will be able to force the progressive movement into a genuine farmer-labor movement with which some sort of coalition may be possible, or they will split the progressive party and make the best of it Socialist. The result will be like a tonic all over the country. Congressmen like Baxter and Hauser would represent more than Wisconsin in Washington. The Socialists have in Wisconsin the kind of opportunity that may not come again very soon. Failure to make the best of it will mean a strengthening of the notion that the LaFollettes are trying to play up to; namely, that it is possible, as Bob LaFollette puts it in one of his circulars, to be "a friend of all people and all parties." Literally speaking, in a time of such division and crisis as this that means a friend of nobody.

The Arms Racket

THE arms inquiry proves that men out for profits are worse even than we thought. Apparently there is nothing at which they hesitate, not bribery, not the sale of their own government secrets, not the use of kings and potentates and war departments as salesmen in their business as merchants

The New Leader Book Corner

A Proletarian Novel

By Ben Blumenberg

THE FOUNDRY, by Albert Halper. The Viking Press.

IN "The Foundry," the author of "Union Square" has given us a portrait of a group of workers that rings true. Free from both sentimentality and idealization, there is no labored effort to write the proletarian novel.

The Fort Dearborn electrotyping foundry makes plates for a huge printing company, Bowman House. The former is a union shop, the latter is "one big happy family" working on an open shop basis trimmed with generous portions of welfare work. Both plants are housed in the same building but it is with the union workers that the story is chiefly concerned. They are, in the words of Heitman, the clear-headed radical, job-conscious rather than class-conscious. We see them feverishly at work amid the rattle of pneumatic hammers, hydraulic presses, whining saws and the fumes of acrid chemicals. There are also flashes of their domestic lives, written with pathos and humor. The lives of the three members of the firm, Max's, the beefy hard-boiled boss, Duffy the wisecracker and Cranley the nickel nurser, are etched in acid.

One of the most moving bits in "The Foundry" is the account of the firing of Waldo, the errand boy. "The boy turned his beseeching face towards his torturer (Cranley) and tried to smile but his lips were trembling too hard. . . . His eyes filled with tears." Waldo's wages went to supplement his mother's meager earnings. With terror he realized that he was jobless. "He had at one stroke become a piece of straw whirled by a mighty wind and whisked into the gigantic sea of unemployment." The same fate overtakes the loyal old janitor. It was difficult to "can" the union workers but the weak, such as Waldo and Hooper-Doooper, the janitor, couldn't fight back.

It is with gusto and vividness that Halper relates the episodes of the picnic and later the theatrical performance given by the employees of Bowman House. However, it is hard to believe that the union men of the Fort Dearborn shop, with their contempt for the non-union printers, participated in the events with the zest described.

The "Foundry" is a well knit novel of flesh and blood characters told with simple directness and keen observation—the work of a

of death. If some of these lobbyists have lied about what they have done, the very fact that they have thought it worth while to lie that way shows how despicable is the trade and the companies which they represent or engage.

Adolf Huey

HUEY LONG is making progress as an American Hitler. Doubtless he was fighting some real evils in Louisiana. So was Hitler in Germany. Doubtless he has a certain mass appeal. So, alas, has Hitler. In the way he browbeat the Louisiana Legislature and in his love of troops and uniforms Huey shows a dangerous similarity to Hitler, and if reports are true, Huey is as much opposed to the Negroes as Hitler ever was to the Jews. He is a dangerous man.

SOCIALISTS will find splendid ammunition in a careful and scientific book by John T. Flynn, called "Security Speculation," published by Harcourt Brace Co. It not only gives startling facts about Wall Street but shows how little Wall Street does to provide real working capital under the capitalist system for productive enterprises.

skilled story teller. It is refreshing in the healthy, earthy attitude of the workers' attitude towards life. There are flashes of Chicago reminiscent of Chicago of a quarter of a century ago, the grim, sprawling city of Dreiser's "Sister Carrie."

The one criticism that could be made is that in his running fire of comment the author identifies himself with the observations and speech of Duffy.

Now Let's All Go Crazy

WE learn from the London Daily Herald, Labor party organ, that there is Beauty-Contest Trouble in England.

It appears that at Hastings, the spot where Duke William the Norman met King Harold the Saxon and defeated and slew him that October day in 1066, there is a beauty contest to select Miss Europe.

A certain Fräulein Kant, who claims to be a grand-niece or something of Immanuel Kant, was selected as Miss Germany. And a certain Mlle. Romanoff, who claims some Czarist blood, was selected as Miss Russia. And eighteen other gals were selected as Miss Czechoslovakia, Miss Andorra, Miss Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Miss Monaco and so forth.

Then twenty ambassadors were invited down to Hastings to look over the show. But Herr von Hoesch, German ambassador, refused to go, saying, "The girl chosen as Miss Germany is not of pure Aryan blood, and the Hitler regime is strongly antagonistic to the whole proceeding."

And M. Maisky, Soviet ambassador, likewise declined the free trip to Hastings, saying, "She is a 'white' and therefore no true member of the USSR. We will have nothing to do with the affair."

Judging from the pictures in the paper the Messrs. von Hoesch and Maisky are most distinctly the losers for not taking the free ride.

"I read it in one gulp. It's a big thing . . . no one but Halper could have done it. So far as I'm aware, no better American novel has appeared since *Arrowsmith* and *An American Tragedy*."

—LOUIS ADAMIC

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—SINCLAIR LEWIS

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DYNAMITE

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by LOUIS ADAMIC

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